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THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF CENTRAL POLYNESIA

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF CENTRAL POLYNESIA

BY

ROBERT W. WILLIAMSON, M.Sc.

AUTHOR OF *THE MALULU MOUNTAIN PEOPLE OF BRITISH NEW GUINEA*

IN THREE VOLUMES

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p. 42, l. 29. *For* Atiu *read* Aitu
p. 62, l. 27. *For* Karike *read* Karika
p. 82, ll. 39–40. For *befreundat* read *befreundet*
p. 94, ll. 34 and 39. *For* Tuimalealu'ifano *read* Tuimaleali'ifano
p. 196, l. 13. *For* Vavao *read* Vavau
p. 197, l. 19. *For* Mau-ulu-biko-tofa *read* Mau-ulu-beko-tofa

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CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND LOCAL GROUPING

PRELIMINARY

I PROPOSE, in discussing social and local grouping, to adopt the defined terminology suggested on p. 144 of the fourth edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (London, 1912), as, though I do not know to what extent this has been accepted by ethnologists generally, it suits my present purpose. As here defined, social groupings fall into two classes; in the one, people are bound together by ties of kinship, either real or fictitious, including the family in the European sense, or larger groupings of relatives; in the other they are bound by a tie of some other kind, such as the common possession of a totem, or common descent from some mythical or historical ancestor; sometimes groupings intermediate between the two classes may be found. Local groupings are dependent on the common habitation of a house, hamlet, village or district. Sometimes the social and local groups coincide, as when a totemic clan occupies a village or hamlet of its own.

There are a few matters to be considered, as affecting Polynesia generally, as to which I will say a word or two before entering into the consideration of the grouping.

The reference to *fictitious* kinship must be borne in mind in connection with Polynesia. The subject of adoption cannot be discussed here; but I may say that a child, and, indeed, an adult, belonging to one social group, might be adopted into another group, and thereupon become, speaking generally, an actual member of that group—just as much, or almost so, as he or she would have been if his or her claim to membership were based upon blood relationship. Then, again, I think that if a male of one social group married a female of another, and she came to live with him and his people, she was commonly regarded as being in a way, and to a certain extent, a member of his and their group, or as belonging to it in a sense; though they did not lose sight of her different origin. As regards what is spoken of as *real* kinship, I must say in advance that, whilst systems of matrilineal descent of blood, or traces of them and of exogamy are found in some of the islands, succession to the name or title

of a social group was mainly patrilineal; and therefore the distinction between maternal and paternal relationship does not appear to have been nearly so closely recognized as it would be among people with more archaic social systems, and a true brother and sister relationship between the children of a father of one social group by wives of different groups would commonly be recognized.

The actual investigation of the systems of grouping is rendered difficult by the intermixtures, sometimes extensive, which had taken place between the social groups, both great and small, and which sometimes make it hard to show that the occupants of a given geographical area were, or had been, a social group, although there is reason for believing that this was so. The children and later descendants of a marriage between persons of two different groups might live and become established in the home of either the male or the female ancestor; and, whilst they would, I think, commonly be regarded as belonging to the social group among which they lived, and which would have, as it were, absorbed them—especially so, perhaps, if it was the group of the male ancestor, even though their rank of blood might be regarded as derived from their female ancestor—this was not necessarily so; and it was sometimes a matter of uncertainty and arrangement whether the children of a marriage should be regarded as belonging to the group of their father or that of their mother, and often, I think, they were recognized as belonging to both groups, and this dual connection would, or might be, handed down to their descendants. It follows that a family—a term which might often include a large body of people—might be treated as belonging to a group other than that with whom they were living; and the recognition of this fact might well militate against the recognition of what was fundamentally a social system of grouping. So also in the case of an adopted person, whilst he was a member of the group into which he had been adopted, I do not think that he necessarily lost his right of membership of his group of origin. I draw attention to these sources of confusion—there are, I think, other sources also—to illustrate the difficulty, and perhaps often the impossibility, of demonstrating systems of social grouping in cases where apparently it prevailed substantially.

The subject of clans (I am using this term without reference to the question of exogamy) obviously enters into that of social

and local grouping, as indeed a clan is a social group; but I have decided, as a matter of convenience, to deal with the two subjects separately, confining myself for the present to the mere question of grouping, and dealing separately in later chapters with one or two matters which are commonly recognized as being attributes or ideas or practices of clans. Then, again, there are the subjects of matrilineal descent, exogamy, totemism, and special relationship matters, the powers, privileges and duties of chiefs and heads of groups, the council meeting or parliament, and succession and inheritance, the investigation of each of which may from time to time throw light upon the question of grouping; indeed there is hardly a subject dealing with the social and political systems of Polynesia which does not touch it directly or indirectly. It is obvious therefore that, as it is out of the question to deal with all these matters here, the present discussion can only be general and incomplete. I will begin it with considering the grouping in Samoa.

SAMOA

We have seen that each of the three main divisions of Upolu was a distinct self-governing area, as also was the Manu'an group of islands; that inside these larger areas, and in the islands of Savai'i and Tutuila there were a number of self-governing districts; whilst these were divided into self-governing village districts, which again were subdivided into self-governing villages composed of domestic family households; and we have to ascertain, so far as may be possible, whether the tie which bound together the people of these various areas, great and small, was, in the main, social or local. In quoting several authorities with reference to the matter we cannot be sure that the meanings of the terms districts, villages, etc., used by them are necessarily identical with those used by me, or indeed that they all use them with the same meanings.

Stuebel says that each family had its *matai* or head, with whom the family name had always been connected; and that a large family had *puiainga* or divisions, standing by themselves, each of which had its *matai*, whilst over the whole family stood the *matai sili* or superior head. He refers to the varying extent in different villages of the power and rule of a *matai sili*; but says that the government of the *tumua*, or chief town of the district was set over all. In the immediate context he speaks of

Aleipata, Safotulafai, Leulumoenga, Lufilufi and others as villages[1]. It is clear from this last reference that his "village" is, or includes, what I am calling a "village district"—indeed Aleipata is, as we have seen, included by Krämer in what I am calling districts.

According to von Bülow, each Samoan village consisted of several village divisions or *fuaiala*, each of which was composed of families connected with each other through relationship, the occurrences of war, and a consequent common necessity for protection, or through other contingencies. Each family was governed by the head of the family, *i.e.* the bearer of the family name, but he discussed matters beforehand with the members of the family. The *fuaiala* was governed by the *matai* or head of one of the families belonging to it, who, however, could only make regulations in agreement with its other *matai*. The village was governed by the heads of the collective *fuaiala*, who, however, yielded precedence in their councils to an appointed member, who owed his post either to election, or in some cases to tradition[2].

Krämer says that in Samoa the family was the basis of the state and one might therefore call Samoa a "family state." Every increase in the family, either through marriage or adoption, but particularly through birth, was greeted with joy, especially in the case of the families of the more powerful chiefs, which thereby attained greater power[3]. The general name for a family was *ainga*, and its head, who bore the family name, was called *matai*. If the family was very large it was divided up into sub-families, which were called *ituainga* or *puiainga*[4]. In that case the head of the parent family was called *matai sili* (principal head of the family), to distinguish him from the *matai* of the branches, who were all under the *matai sili*[5]. Krämer frequently speaks of a family in some village, village district, or district of Samoa as being *ainga* of one of the big families, thereby meaning that it was a branch of it; and he sometimes refers to one of these local families as being *ainga* to more than one great family, thereby meaning that it was a branch of each of them, a situation which would, of course, be extremely common.

[1] Stuebel, p. 107.
[2] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 375.
[3] *S.I.* vol. I, p. 31.
[4] In Pratt's dictionary the meaning of *itu* is said to be *side*; so we may perhaps regard an *ituainga* as a side branch of the parent trunk. Pratt applies the term *puiainga* to a family living under the same roof.
[5] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 476.

According to a translation in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* of Schultz's account of the matter, the Samoan race was divided, like a clan, into *ainga* or families, which again were split up into groups or branches. If a family spread into several villages, the total of the members in one village was called *fuaifale*. Within the same village the larger branches were called *ituainga* and the smaller *puiainga*, whilst by the term *faletama* was understood all the children of one pair of parents (*i.e.* full brothers and sisters). At the head of every branch stood the *matai*, or head of the family. One of these was the chief, or *matai sili* of the whole clan. Every *matai* had a name —*ingoa*, *suafa*—which was handed down from generation to generation. The *matai* of the family branches were either subservient to the rule (*pule*) of the *matai sili*, or had their own *pule*. This depended upon their origin, which varied in different families, and was generally to be traced back to the decree of the founder of the family, or some other ancestor[1].

Ella explains the social organization of Samoa as follows. "The several tribes were constituted by the families, who were lineal descendants of the original possessors of the country, probably conquerors of an earlier race, who were extinct or driven out before them. These tribes were at first pure and distinct; but in course of time some amalgamated, and others were divided by certain families separating from their respective tribes, and forming distinct tribes under the elders or leaders of the secession. This latter change occasionally arose from family quarrels, but chiefly through emigration to found settlements in other parts of the country. These emigrants retained their fealty to the head chief of the original tribe, and were governed by him in time of war, or in any important movement; in other respects they were independent, and under the control of their own appointed head"[2].

The difference of terminology used by these writers, and the uncertainty as to whether they all mean the same thing by the same term, even if used by each of them with precision, and the further doubt arising from the fact that (except in the case of Ella) we are only dealing with translations from the original German, make it impossible to co-ordinate the accounts with any confidence that we are doing so correctly. The following tabulated statements, however, represent what seems to me to be the probable comparative explanation.

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 43. [2] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 629. Cf. vol. VI, p. 596.

My terminology (to be used as a basis for comparison)

1. Domestic household.
2. Village.
3. Village district, containing several villages.
4. District, containing several village districts.

Stuebel

1. Not specifically referred to. (Perhaps included in 2.)
2. *Puiainga* or divisions of a large family, with their *matai*.
3. The whole of that family (occupying a village) with its *matai sili*.
4. District, with its *tumua*, or chief town (he evidently uses the term *tumua* as applicable to any governmental village).

Von Bülow

1. Family, with its head.
2. *Fuaiala* or village division, composed of connected families, with the head of one of those families as its *matai*.
3. Village, governed by heads of collective *fuaiala*, one of whom had precedence.
4. Not mentioned.

Krämer

1. Not specifically referred to. (Perhaps included in 2.)
2. *Ituainga* or *puiainga* (branch of large *ainga* or family), with its *matai*.
3. The whole of that *ainga*, with its *matai sili*.
4. Not mentioned.

Schultz

1. Not specifically referred to. (Perhaps included in 2.)
2. *Ituainga* or *puiainga*, branch of the *ainga* or family with its *matai*.
3. The whole *ainga* or family, occupying the entire village, called *fuaifale* (but itself perhaps a branch of a still larger family), with its *matai sili*.
4. That larger family spread over several villages.

These tabulated statements are merely intended to co-ordinate, so far as possible, the particulars given by the several writers; but I will now tabulate my conception, based partly on those particulars, and partly upon other matters that have already appeared and will appear hereafter, of the general socio-political structure of these self-governing areas, admitting, however, that, so far as its social character is concerned, my construction of the matter must only be regarded broadly, and subject to qualifications. I think that the entire system was in the main, and looking at it in this way, one of what I may call graduated social, local, self-government; and adopting my own terminology, I describe it, as I understand it, *broadly* as follows. References to relationship of course include both real and fictitious kinship.

1. The smallest unit was the domestic family household governed by one of its members, who was its official head, the

bearer of the name of the family, in consultation more or less with other members.

2. The village was a collection of related domestic families, forming a consanguine family. Its affairs were managed by the village *fono* (council meeting), the persons taking part in which were the official heads—owners of the names—of the constituent domestic families. At the head of this *fono* was the official head of one of these domestic families, who would also be the official head—owner of the name—of the consanguine family which constituted the village.

3. The village district was a collection of related villages, and may, perhaps, be regarded as an enlarged consanguine family. Its affairs were managed by the *fono* of the village district. The persons taking part in this were, apparently, the official heads of the constituent domestic families of the constituent villages. Only one of these would, however, be entitled to speak on behalf of each village, this one being, as I gather, commonly, though apparently not necessarily, the official head of the village. At the head of this *fono* was the official head of one of these villages, who would also be the official head—owner of the name—of the enlarged consanguine family which constituted the village district.

4. The district was a collection of related village districts. Its affairs were managed by the *fono* of the district. The persons taking part in this were, apparently, the official heads of the constituent villages of the constituent village districts. Only one of these would, however, be entitled to speak on behalf of each village district, this one being, as I gather, commonly, though apparently not necessarily, the official head of the village district. At the head of this *fono* was the official head of one of these village districts, who would also be the official head—owner of the name—of the social group which constituted the district.

As regards my references to the *fono*, though the representative characters of the people entitled to take part in them and of those entitled to speak is undoubted, it must be understood that the evidence concerning the regulations as to the specific people who might do this is not exact, and it is possible that the regulations themselves were neither exact nor universal. I am only stating here, for the purpose of illustrating the general social relationship between the various political areas, small and large, what appears to have been, broadly

speaking, the practice at Samoan *fono*[1]. It must be understood, as regards actual speaking, that chiefs would commonly do this, not personally, but by the mouths of their official orators.

Concerning the social character of the relationship between the people of these closely-neighbouring areas, I draw attention to some of the statements of the writers whom I have quoted. It is, I think, pretty clear that Stuebel regards the relationship as social. So does Krämer. So also does Schultz—indeed he refers to the common ancestor. So too does Ella, though he refers to amalgamations of distinct "tribes." Von Bülow refers to the connection between the families composing a *fuaiala* as having been that of relationship, or based upon war and the consequent need for protection, or on other contingencies. Ella's reference to amalgamation is probably based mainly upon the consequences following intermarriages between members of different groups, whose children and descendants might belong to both groups; but von Bülow's reference to connections based on war and the consequent need for protection touches another subject, and perhaps Ella does so also to a certain extent. Schultz says that a family or branch thereof could be placed either by compulsion or by freewill under the power (*pule*) of an unrelated family. The first case was the result of war, by which one of the parties was subjugated. The other took place when one family put itself under the protection of another from fear of subjugation, and he illustrates this by the case of a *matai*, who was pursued by the revenge of an enemy, and would take refuge with another, and so save his life. He had, however, to hand over his name and *pule* to his protector, who would return the name, but keep the *pule*, and the family which thus forfeited its independence was thenceforth regarded as the property of its protectors[2]. Von Bülow's reference to other contingencies is perhaps based upon the fact that kinship between members of a social group might be what the *Notes and Queries*' definition calls "fictitious," including relationship through adoption and matrimonial matters. I think, however, this question of war and protection may be regarded as incidental and not fundamental, and that, so far at all events as these local areas are concerned, the effect of the general evidence up to this point has been to indicate that the grouping in Samoa was fundamentally and mainly of a social character.

[1] We shall see, amongst other things, that those who took part in a *fono* sometimes included *related* people living outside the area.

[2] Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, pp. 44 *sq.* Cf. von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. lxxxiii, p. 374.

It is clear from the information given by Krämer concerning the distribution in different parts of Samoa of the well-known families that one village of a village district might be the home of one of these families or a branch of it, whilst another was the home of another family or a branch of it. There was therefore a certain amount of local family intermixture which might seem at first sight to point to local grouping. I do not, however, believe for a moment that separate families, or sections of them, acting independently of each other, had plumped themselves down in the same local area, or that one had done so in the area of the other, as such an act would be at variance with Samoan ideas, and would probably give rise to fighting. My conception of the usual explanation of the matter is that the villages of a given village district were originally occupied by family *A*; that a member of an outside family *B*, afterwards, as the result of intermarriage with a member of family *A*, established a sub-family in the village district; and that this sub-family and its descendants were ultimately the occupiers of a newly-formed village of the village district. This sub-family and its descendants would be in a sense an *ainga* or branch, not only of the family from which they had sprung, but also of the family in whose village district they were living, the connecting tie with the latter being one of actual kinship, based on the marriage of which they were descendants, though the main relationship would probably be that with the family of the male ancestor. They were thus, as it were, incorporated with and formed, in a greater or less degree, part of the original family of the village district. This seems to me to be the most reasonable and probable explanation of the matter[1]. I have, however, tried to put this explanation to a test by an investigation of some of the extensive and detailed family information provided by Krämer, more especially in his genealogical trees and in his particulars as to the ceremonious "greetings" offered to distinguished persons entitled to take part in the *fono*, or parliaments, of the various areas, great and small, and his explanatory notes on those greetings, and his notes with reference to the villages; this being material from which it is possible to dig out a good deal of useful comparative information. In a general way it may be said that the genealogical trees and the greetings given by

[1] The object of such a marriage would sometimes, as we shall see hereafter, be the desire of family *B* to secure the support of family *A* in case of war; and this is perhaps another subject which von Bülow has in mind in referring to war.

Krämer indicate that the spreading of branches of a family to places distant from its main seat appears to have come about usually through marriages of members of the main line with women belonging to the distant village districts; and it is the son by such a marriage who seems usually to have been regarded as the founder of the new branch. This would lead one to expect that in village districts where there were two or more families of chiefs these families would be more or less actually related to each other, or—supposing the new-comer married a woman of a minor family living under the protection of a great chief —would be regarded as related according to native ideas. A comparative investigation of Krämer's information and his comments on it seems to make it clear that geographical combinations for governmental purposes also of apparently separate families, occupying villages of the same village districts, were due, not to a system of local grouping, but to definite social relationships between them. Some specific examples of this will be found in later pages.

Any social group would naturally have its central home, which might or might not be its original or ancestral home, but which would probably be the place of residence of the head of the group, the bearer of its title or name. As the group expanded numerically, it would spread geographically, and the natural course, if the group were not hedged in, as it were, by other groups, would be for this spreading to be effected by the formation of branch groups, collected round the central group in an enlarged home belonging to all of them. This, however, would not necessarily be so. There might not be the necessary space; some internal dispute might bring about a migration of a member of the group with his immediate relations to a new home in another part of Samoa; the marriage of a member of the group with a spouse in another part of Samoa might lead to the foundation of a branch group geographically separated from the central home; a member of the group might from mere restlessness and wish for change, or for some other reason, migrate elsewhere. Changes and developments of this character undoubtedly occurred, and evidently had done so during a very long period; and we thus have material for examining, as regards specific groups, the social relationship between the parent group and its branches under the two conditions of geographical proximity and separation.

I will begin the matter by considering the three great divisions

of Aana, Atua and Tuamasanga, in the island of Upolu, and the islands of the Manu'an group. Each of these four geographical areas had, as we have seen, its reigning family of kings, as I have called them; and I shall try, by means of a series of separate propositions, to show that in each case the grouping of the division appears to have been fundamentally social in character.

The *tuiaana*, *tuiatua*, Malietoa and *tuimanu'a* were the sovereigns of the geographical divisions of Aana, Atua, Tuamasanga and Manu'a. This fact is rendered abundantly clear by a study of the history of the islands, and the prefix *tui-* (lord) indicates it; but it is illustrated by such incidental statements as that, made by Krämer, that when a king, insulted as such, declared war against another district, as for example *tuiaana* against Tuamasanga, the *tuiaana* might be assured that his whole land of Aana would give him military service[1]. Another feature of the political system was that each of these four geographical divisions was a defined governmental area, having its own *fono* for the whole division, as distinguished from the lesser *fono* of its districts, village districts and villages.

It thus appears that the governmental divisions of Aana, Atua, Tuamasanga and Manua, each under the management of its *fono*, or parliament, were geographically identical with the dominions under the sovereignty of the ancestral families of kings with whom they were associated; and as this was not merely a recent coincidence of area, but had evidently, as appears from the traditions and history, always been the case, subject as regards Tuamasanga, to the relatively recent date of the Maliteoa line, we have a definite basis upon which to found our investigation of the character of the grouping of the people in those divisions.

In the first place, the seats of government of the areas were also the official residences of their kings. Thus the seat of government of Aana was the village district of Leulumoenga; and here was situate the crown land where the *tuiaana* lived[2]. The seat of government of Atua was the village district of Lufilufi; and the crown land in which the *tuiatua* lived was situate there[3]. The village district of Tau, in the island of Tau, was the seat of government of the Manu'a islands; and it was the residence of the *tuimanu'a*[4]. The old seat of government of

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 152.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 270.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 367.

Tuamasanga had been the village district of Malie; but it had, as the result of the warfare with which the Tonumaipe'a people and their war goddess Nafanua were so closely connected, and which led to the establishment of the office of *tafa'ifa*, been removed to the closely-adjoining village district of Afenga. Malie had been the place of residence of the Malietoa from olden times[1].

Ella says that it was the custom at a Samoan *fono* for the chief highest in rank to be the first speaker, either in person or through his orator, unless he chose to cede that prerogative to another, generally the next in rank[2]; and we shall see in the chapter on council meetings that he occupied a central position facing the people, evidently being, nominally at all events, the president of the meeting, just as he was at a *kava* party. This would doubtless be the custom, not only at *fono* of smaller areas, but at a *fono* of all Aana, Atua, Tuamasanga or Manua, the king taking the central place of honour by virtue of his official rank and position. I do not mean to imply by all this that the king or chief performed the active duties of a president, as this would generally be done by the orator chiefs or orators who acted as his spokesmen, that being the way in which chiefs usually placed their views before a *fono*.

I shall show that it was the custom for the *fono* of a village district or district to be held at the village or village district which was regarded as its governmental centre, and for the official orators (*tulafale*) or orator chiefs (*tulafale ali'i*) of that place, acting nominally, and sometimes more or less actually, on behalf of the chief or king, according to the extent of his power, to call the meeting, and to have the conduct of it, acting, as it were, as chairmen, delivering the opening speech, and, it is said, deciding disputed knotty points, summing up, and finally dismissing the assembly. I gather from Krämer that these were all, in the case of a *fono* of all Aana, Atua, Manua or Tuamasanga, orator chiefs and not mere orators[3].

There were at Leulumoenga, the seat of government of the division of Aana, nine great orator families who took this leading part in the divisional *fono* held there, each family selecting its member who was to represent it at the *fono*. These families constituted the bulk of the people of Leulumoenga. They were the Sausi, Salevaonono, Sava'a, Samoa, Lepou,

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 224.
[2] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 598.
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 18.

Ilia'e, Niuapu, Sapini and Folasaitu. By a traditional custom each of their representatives had the privilege of sitting on a stool, whereas all others at the *fono* had to be content with a seat on the ground. Their importance is illustrated by the fact that in the long and formal greetings by which the work of the *fono* was preceded, the first greeting having been given to the village district of Leulumoenga, first by name, and then under its official title of *tumua*, the next greeting was offered to the "House of the Nine," as they were called[1]. Similarly at a *fono* of the division of Atua, held at Lufilufi, its seat of government, the leading part in the debate was taken by the orator representatives of six families, Inu, Manuo, Tuoa, Fa'asau, Moefa'auo and Mata'afa; and here again we find that the first greetings were offered to Lufilufi by name and as chief council place of Atua, and the next were given to the "House of the Six"[2]. In the Manu'a islands the *fono* was held at the village district of Tau, the place of government of the group. Here there were three important orator families, called the "House of the Three," and representing the three political districts of the island of Tau; and they were specially mentioned in the greetings of the Tau *fono*[3]. The situation in Tuamasanga was peculiar in consequence of the transfer of government, to which I have already referred, from Malie, the ancestral home of the Malietoa, to Afenga. There were at Malie seven families, Toelupe, Leupolu, Leapai, Tuloa, Tulusunu'i, Malingi and Saunia'au, called the "House of the Seven," whose representative orators were apparently regarded as the important people at Malie, being specially mentioned in the formal greetings offered at the Malie *fono*[4]. In the *fono* of all Tuamasanga, held at Afenga, we find a double greeting which, according to Krämer's explanation, includes first Afenga, as the seat of government, and secondly the Malietoa family and the "House of the Nine"[5]. I shall refer to this difference as to the number of families presently.

Now the importance for our present purpose of these particulars of the proceedings at the *fono* of the four great divisions, Aana, Atua, Manu'a and Tuamasanga, is the light which they throw upon the association between these divisions as administrative areas on the one hand and their titular kings and the

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 152, 149. These "greetings," as they are called, were the formal welcomes offered to important people present at the *fono*, and important families and places represented there.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 10, 274, 271.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 368.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 225.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 222.

families (this term being used in its widest sense) of those kings on the other. As regards internal matters—that is, in effect, matters other than war with people outside the division—the governing power in time of peace lay largely, and sometimes in effect entirely or nearly so, in the hands of the orators[1]; in which latter term would be included these "houses," as they were called, and other orators entitled to take part in the *fono*. I have referred to the fact that the orators (I am including in this term, as Krämer does, the powerful orator chiefs) of the seat of government of a district summoned and took the lead at, and controlled largely the *fono* of the district held at that seat; and this lead and control would in the case of the *fono* of any of these four great divisions be in the hands of these "houses," as they were called, of orator chiefs. And herein comes the connection between the civil administration of these geographical areas and the families of their kings; for these orator families ("houses") were in fact what I may call the "electoral colleges" of the kings, whose duty it was to select a successor to the title out of the royal family. On the death of a *tuiaana* his successor was selected by the "House of the Nine" at Leulumoenga[2]; the successor of a *tuiatua* was chosen by the "House of the Six" at Lufilufi[3]; a deceased *tuimanu'a* was succeeded by a candidate chosen by the "House of the Three" at Tau[4]; and it was, according to Krämer, the "House of the Nine" in Malie, together with the little island of Manono (at the western point of Upolu) and the village district of Safotulafai, in the island of Savai'i, that granted the Malietoa title[5]. I think that Krämer, or his printer, has made a slip in this last statement, and that his Nine should have been Seven, because, as we have seen, the "House" at Malie included only seven families, and I think that it was the inclusion of Manono and Safotulafai that increased from seven to nine the number of families referred to in the greetings of the *fono* of all Tuamasanga held at Afenga. I have searched, without success, for some other possible explanation of the discrepancy; and so shall write on the assumption that mine is correct. Taking all this evidence as to election together, we are brought to the conclusion that the electors of the kings were the principal controlling statesmen in matters affecting the internal affairs of the divisions over which the jurisdictions of these kings extended.

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 10. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 368 and *note* 2. [5] *Ibid.* p. 238.

These orator chiefs who elected the kings and had this great controlling power over those kings' dominions were representative heads, bearing the family names, of families, and the right of disposal of the titles passed down within those families, from generation to generation[1]; their great importance is illustrated by Ella's statement that Leulumoenga, the capital of Aana, was also distinguished by the title of *fale-iva* (nine houses) denoting the nine principal chiefs who ruled there, and in a large measure directed the movements of the Aana district[2]. It is true that there were in Samoa groups of men, called *usoali'i* (to whom I shall refer in considering the middle and lower classes) and *faletui* (to whom I shall refer in considering council meetings and powers of chiefs), who discussed among themselves questions of succession and imparted their wishes to the governing village—*i.e.* to the electors; but these people were evidently related socially to the chiefs, and the electors do not seem to have been bound to carry out their wishes, for it is said that even an appointment made by the previous chief in his lifetime had to be sanctioned by the *tulafale* (the word is evidently used for orators generally)[3]; and an appointment by the electors themselves was not valid unless made unanimously[4], a regulation quite inconsistent with any idea of their merely having to carry out instructions given by others.

I am in all this discussion trying to show the close connection between social kinship and the administration of the political areas of jurisdiction of these kings; because this obviously has an important bearing on the question of social grouping. This being so, it is clear that another link is required in my chain of evidence; I must show that there was the connecting bond of social kinship between the kings and these groups of powerful families who elected them, and had such great power in the conduct of the affairs of their kingdoms. One method of doing this would be to show that all these orator families were branches of the royal lines; it would be satisfactory to trace them out, one by one, and prove the relationship of each; but the great mass of detailed information with which Krämer provides us is unfortunately not sufficient to enable me to do this. I could prove it as regards some of them; but the evidence would be worthless, unless such a preponderance of relation-

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 10 *sq.* Cf. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 597.
[2] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 629.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. VI, p. 597.
[4] Krämer, *Globus*, vol. LXXV, p. 187.

ship were actually proved as to justify an assumption that they were all related. I may say that I shall give reasons hereafter for thinking that the orators as a class were related to the chiefs as a class, and shall also, in discussing the granting of titles, introduce *some* evidence as to the relationship in Samoa between the chiefs and the people who granted their titles.

There are, however, good general reasons for thinking that these electoral families were related branches of the royal families. In the first place, I would refer to Krämer's observation, already quoted, that the family was the basis of the state, and that Samoa might be called a family state; this observation accords completely with the systems which his detailed information discloses, and with the immense elaboration and minuteness with which the trees of families, including their most distant and scattered branches, had been preserved by the people. The election of the official head, the bearer of the name or title, of a family or other social group, was, as we might almost assume, a purely family or group matter, and the electors were always members of the group. It would be inconsistent with the fundamental Samoan rules of succession, and would, to me, be inconceivable that the election of the great kings of Samoa would be entrusted to a number of officers whose right and duty was not based upon group kinship. Then again, if the right to elect the kings was not so based, upon what was it based? Who selected and appointed the electors? It must be remembered that the system which I have described was not confined to the election of these kings; it prevailed also for smaller family groups, and whatever may have been the social system under which it arose, it was undoubtedly a widely spread one. Surely, if there had been some system, based upon geographical limits, upon common habitation, of appointing people to perform the duty of electing the chiefs and kings who were to reign over the areas within their jurisdiction, one or other of the writers on Samoa would have mentioned it; but not a word of any such system is referred to by any of them. Then once again, is it likely that under any such system the appointment of electors would take the form of entrusting the duties of election to groups of families, each of which was to retain the duty as a right, from generation to generation, and was to delegate its execution when occasion arose to a member of that family, selected by the family itself?

The evidence suggests therefore, not only that these kings were the official heads of the divisions over which they ruled, but that the main controlling power in the government of those divisions was vested in certain families, whose hereditary rights of control must, I think, have been based upon kinship with the kings, and not merely upon the fact that these people were important personages, resident in the geographical areas forming the kings' dominions. If this was the case, then, so far as the government of these divisions was concerned, the basis of the system that prevailed was social rather than local.

Tuamasanga, however, provides us with some evidence of another character that this right of electing the kings, and taking part in the administration of their dominions, was a matter of family relationship and not merely of appointment by the members of a local group. We have seen that, according to my construction of Krämer's statements, the election of a Malietoa rested, not only with the seven families in Malie, but with two other families in Manono and the village district of Safotulafai in Savai'i; and that they were included in the greeting to the "House of the Nine" offered at the *fono*, held at Afenga, of all Tuamasanga, which shows that the representatives of these two outside village districts shared with the seven Malie representatives the control of the *fono* of all Tuamasanga. How came it that these families of the island of Manono, and of Safotulafai in Savai'i, were entitled to these rights in connection with the granting of the Malietoa title and the government of Tuamasanga? I think the answer is to be found in Krämer's statement that they were *ainga*—that is branch families—of the Malietoa[1]; and, if so, we have an explanation of a matter which would otherwise be impossible to understand, and, I think, an example of a practice which can be regarded as pointing definitely to social grouping.

There is another matter that requires investigation. I have so far only contended that there was a kinship connection between the kings and the orator chiefs who to such a large extent controlled the government of their dominions. These were not, however, the only people who did this; there were also the representatives of the various districts and village districts who took part in the *fono*, and it is necessary on this account, and indeed it is so independently of the question of government, that I should, if possible, give evidence pointing

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 48, 160. Cf. Stevenson, *footnote*, p. 28.

to a general kinship relationship between the inhabitants of a division ruled over by a king. I think I can do this in the following way. I have already referred to statements by writers as to the family relationship between the inhabitants of villages and village districts. The official heads of the more important of the families occupying these villages and village districts would be the chiefs, and if I can connect the latter together by proving their relationship to the kings, I shall, I think, have demonstrated the general social character of the tie which bound together the inhabitants of a division. The available evidence as to this is necessarily confined to the more important titled families, concerning whom Krämer gives us the needful information; but it may, I think, be assumed that most, at all events, of the less important chiefs' families were related branches of the more important families; and if this was so, the evidence seems to be sufficient for our purpose.

My line of argument may be tabulated broadly as follows: (1) The inhabitants of a village were related domestic families, and a village district was composed of socially related villages; the evidence pointing to this has already been given. (2) The class of the chiefs included men of various degrees of family rank and political importance; but the minor chiefs were relatives of the major chiefs. I am assuming this; but it is involved to a considerable extent in the social structure of the villages and village districts referred to above. (3) The families of the more important chiefs were related branches of the royal families; the evidence of this is about to be given. My contention is that, if these statements are correct, we may believe that there was a general tie of family relationship between the inhabitants of a division.

The following particulars relate to the great families of the division of Aana.

There were, according to Krämer, four *ainga* or branch families of the *tuiaana* line, whose importance is illustrated by the fact that they were specially greeted by name at the *fono*, held at Leulumoenga, of all Aana. These were the Satuala, the Taulangi, the Tauaana, and the Mavaenga[1]. There were other great Aana families also, to which I shall refer.

The history of the Satuala family commences with the *tuiaana* Tamalelangi, whose daughter Salamasina succeeded him as *tuiaana*, and, as we have seen, was the first *tafa'ifa* of all

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 149.

Samoa. Tamalelangi had by another wife—a woman of Faleata —a son Tuala[1], who was the founder of the Satuala family[2]. The chief seats in Aana of the family were in Fasito'outa, Lefanga, Satapuala, Faleasi'u and Nofoali'i; but they also dwelt in Lealatele and Amoa in Savai'i[3].

The history of the Taulangi family begins with *tuiaana* Faumuina (a great-grandchild of Salamasina), one of whose wives was a woman of Amoa, in Savai'i, and she bore him a son Vaafusuanga[4], who married a woman of Fasito'otai, and founded the Taulangi family[5]. The family seats in Aana were in Fasito'otai and Falease'ela[6].

The Tauaana family seems to have been descended from the Tangaroa family of Falelatai in Aana, which Krämer thinks was probably connected with the great Tangaroa family of Savai'i, already referred to[7]. In generation 26 of this Tangaroa family of Aana we find the birth of a son called Ta'au, and this is repeated in generations 27 and 28; and I imagine that the first three letters of the family name are a contraction of this name. The third of these successive sons, named Ta'au, married a lady of the Satuala family, mentioned above[8]; and apparently it was through this Satuala connection that the Tauaana family became *ainga* to the Tuiaana[9]. Its family seat in Aana was Falelatai[10].

The Mavaenga family was founded by the *tuiaana* Tamesese[11]. Their chief home was in Faleasi'u, in Aana[12]. They also had Savai'ian settlements to which I shall refer in a later page.

I cannot find that the title of the Lilomaiava family of Aana originated with the *tuiaana*; but the connection between the two families arose at an early date, through the marriage of Lilomaiava Nailevaiiliili, the son of the first holder of the title, with Samalaulu, daughter of the *tuiaana* Famuina, she becoming the ancestress of the *tuiaana* Samalaulu line, and the Lilomaiava line being continued through her son[13]. It follows that all subsequent holders of the title were directly descended from a daughter of a *tuiaana*. The Aana seat of the family was

[1] *Ibid.* p. 169.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 169, 176.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 176, 178. Cf. Stuebel, p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 170 *sq.*
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 171, 181.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 181. Cf. Stuebel, p. 95.
[7] *Ibid.* pp. 186 *sq.* and *note* 2.
[8] *Ibid.* pp. 187, 179.
[9] Cf. *Ibid.* p. 186, *note* 2.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 149. Cf. Stuebel, p. 95.
[11] *Ibid.* pp. 78, 179 (for his identification see p. 173).
[12] *Ibid.* pp. 178 *sq.*
[13] *Ibid.* pp. 184 *sq.*, 170.

in Sangafili, and it had seats also in Palauli and Safotu in Savai'i[1].

The Tuimaleali'ifano family was derived from the Tangaroa and Lilomaiava families. It was the same as the *tuiaana* Samalaulu family mentioned above, the latter having been an alternative name by which it was called after the woman Samalaulu mentioned above[2], who was the ancestress of the family[3]. It was therefore derived from a daughter of a *tuiaana*. It acquired its special importance through connections with the *tuiaana* and Malietoa families. Its homes were in Faleolo (in Satapuala) and Matanofo (in Falelatai), both in Aana[4].

The Leiataua family of the important little island of Manono were descended from Tolufale, the son of Pili by the daughter of *tuiaana* Tava'etele[5], and so had an ancient *tuiaana* origin. I may say, without going into details and giving references, that at a later date Manono became an *ainga* of the Malietoa, and that its chiefs appear to have been connected originally more especially with the *tuimanu'a* and the Tangaroans, as I have called them.

The Luatuanu'u family was apparently the chief family of Tufulele, on the border between Aana and Tuamasanga, on the north coast of Upolu[6]. It was related to the family of Alipia, the great orator chief of Leulumoenga, who was descended from the *tuiaana* and other great chiefs' families[7].

I have, I think, included in the above particulars all the important Aana families referred to by Krämer. I do not doubt that by an extension of the field of investigation and lengthening of this chapter I could give similar particulars for Atua, Tuamasanga and Manu'a; but it hardly seems necessary to do this, Aana being a good illustrative example.

It will be noticed that some of these Aana families were actually founded by past reigning *tuiaana* or their sons; that others were descended from daughters of *tuiaana*, or in the case of one family from a woman who was descended from a *tuiaana*; and that in one case the character of the connection is not clear. It is obvious that in each case of a *tuiaana* ancestry there must have been some existing family with a member of which the ancestral *tuiaana*, or son or daughter of a *tuiaana*, married, and that this family may or may not have had a

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 183 *note* 1.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 188.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 185.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 188.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 190.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 194, 165.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 194–7, 189.

previous *tuiaana* origin. The evidence therefore only proves the *tuiaana* ancestry of each of the families I have been discussing back to a specific event, and not before then. There can be no doubt, however, that the *tuiaana* dated back to a very distant past; and there must have been a long period of time, during which they had been giving off, as it were, branch families, from which sub-branches had arisen, and so on. The natural, and probably the usual practice, would be for these descendent families to settle down somewhere in the neighbourhood of the parent home, except in cases where migrations elsewhere had taken place owing to marriages with spouses of more distant places, or separations due to family disputes or other reasons. There is therefore a reasonable probability that most of the families in Aana with which the *tuiaana* intermarried had themselves a *tuiaana* origin, though it is obviously impossible to prove this. It would not necessarily be so however, and the Tauaana family is perhaps a good example of an Aana family which had not such an origin. The great Tangaroa family of Savai'i had an origin quite distinct from that of the *tuiaana*; and if the Tangaroa family of Aana, from which the Tauaana family seems to have been descended, was, as Krämer thinks, an offset of the Savai'i family, there is no ground for suggesting that they probably had an original *tuiaana* ancestry. Perhaps a member of the original Tangaroa family of Savai'i had married an Aana woman, and founded in Aana a branch Tangaroa family; this family would then be a Tangaroan *ainga* branch, not only of the Tangaroa family in Savai'i, but also of the Aanan family of the wife of the marriage, and would share with the latter any *ainga* relationship between them and the *tuiaana*. I think, however, that we are justified in a belief that, speaking generally, the great families of Aana were regarded as bound by ties of kinship, some real and some fictitious, with the great royal family of the *tuiaana*.

Without contending that all my points have been actually proved, I may, I think, suggest that the broad and probable effect of the evidence is that the divisions of Aana, Atua, Manu'a and Tuamasanga coincided geographically with the areas of the rules of the four families of kings; their seats of government were the residences of the kings; the people who elected the kings were the people who took the most prominent part in ruling the divisions, and they appear to have been related to the kings; there was a general bond of family kinship,

no doubt partly fictitious, and subject probably to many detailed exceptions, or apparent exceptions, between the inhabitants of a division, from the royal families downwards to the occupants of the villages; the case of Tuamasanga shows how the right of election and taking the lead in the management of the affairs of a division might be possessed by families related to the kings, although they were outside the geographical area of the division. If these statements are accepted, they show, I think, that the system of grouping was primarily social, and that, though the local grouping was coincident in the main with the social grouping, it was not necessarily entirely so.

I have been dealing, up to this point, only with the four great divisions of Samoa—Aana, Atua, Manu'a and Tuamasanga. The royal families of these divisions had *ainga* or branch families both inside and outside the main central areas of their jurisdiction—so extensively had the population of Samoa become intermixed through intermarriages, adoptions and other matters. In Aana, Atua and Manu'a, the families who controlled the royal titles, and took the lead in the management of the affairs of the divisions, were all domiciled within the geographical areas of the divisions; and only Tuamasanga offers evidence of social grouping, in the form of participation in this titular control and management by related geographical outsiders. I will now show that evidence of social features, some of which is of a somewhat similar character, is found on an investigation of the grouping of some of the well-known families of Samoa.

My information concerning these families is all obtained from Krämer, and especially from his detailed particulars as to the various village districts and villages, the genealogical trees, and the greetings at the *fono* of the various governmental centres of the different areas, great and small. In interpreting the evidence I attach considerable importance to the greetings—that is, the formal and complimentary welcomes offered to certain persons and families taking part in or represented at a *fono*, which formed such a long and wearisome part of the meeting. As I understand the matter, certain important families entitled to be present in the persons of their representatives would, at all events if their representatives were actually there, have their greetings; and it is clear that the fact that a family was entitled to a greeting is definite evidence of its right to be

represented, and so participate in the *fono*. The greetings were offered to the family by its name, or to its representative, or to both.

The Satuala were one of the great branch families of the *tuiaana* line, perhaps the greatest, for it was usually they who collected the mats required for distribution on the granting of the *tuiaana* title, and on the death of a *tuiaana*[1]. They were scattered about in Fasito'outa, Satapuala, Faleasi'u and Nofoali'i on the northern shore, and in Lefanga on the southern shore of Aana, and had two settlements in Lealatele and Amoa in Savai'i[2]. The Mavaenga were another great branch of the *tuiaana* family, having a home in Faleasi'u in Aana, and in Asau, Sataua and Sasina in Savai'i[3]. Another important Aana family was the Tuimaleali'ifano, who lived in Satapuala and Falelatai in Aana[4]; and yet another was the Tauaana family living in Falelatai in Aana[5].

The village district of Satapuala, containing three villages, was one of the homes of the Satuala family, though we do not know definitely which of its villages they occupied; and its village of Faleolo was occupied by a branch of the Tuimaleali'ifano family. The greetings at the *fono* of Satapuala, included a welcome to an important chief, resident there, a member of the Satuala family, and to the family itself; they also included a welcome to the chief there of the Tuimaleali'ifano family[6]. The village district of Faleasi'u, containing two villages, was one of the homes of the Satuala family and the home in Aana of the Mavaenga family[7]. There is no information identifying the separate families with the respective villages, but it is probable that each family had its own village. The greetings at the *fono* of Faleasi'u included a welcome to the Mavaenga family, and to the representative there of the Satuala family[8]. The village district of Falelatai had seven villages. It was the home of the Tauaana family[9] and the head-quarters of the Tuimaleali'ifano family[10]. The latter lived in its village of Matanofo[11]; but I cannot identify the village of the former. The greetings of the *fono* of Falelatai included a welcome to the chiefs of the Tauaana family, first as a group and then indi-

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 29, 149.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 176, 178.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 149, 178, 179 and *note* 1.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 188.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 149, 186–7.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 155 *sq.*, 176, 188.
[7] *Ibid.* pp. 149, 176 and *note* 1, 179 and *note* 1.
[8] *Ibid.* pp. 154–5.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 149.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 188.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 164.

vidually by name, and to the representative there of the Tuimaleali'ifano family[1].

These are examples of what I have referred to on a previous page as being what might seem at first sight to point to local grouping; and I will try to trace shortly the apparent social origins to which the several cases may be attributed.

The village district of Satapuala was occupied by both the Satuala and Tuimaleali'ifano families. The branch of the Satuala family there seems to have been founded through the marriage of a daughter of Fenunuti (gen. 24 of the Satuala line)[2] with To'alepaiali'i, the son of Toeolesulusulu (gen. 24 of the Lilomaiava line)[3] by a daughter of Safuta of Satapuala[4]. The Tuimaleali'ifano were related to the branch of the Satuala there through their common descent from the Lilomaiava family. The Lilomaiava family, from which the Tuimaleali'ifano derived, had early connection with the Satapuala village of Faleolo, Tuifa'asisina of the Lilomaiava (gen. 22) marrying Ta'atiaifaleolo, daughter of Taito of Satapuala. Krämer says that the son by this marriage and generations of other Lilomaiava lived in Faleolo, Satapuala[5]. It seems probable that the Tuimaleali'ifano represented the Lilomaiava there. In the greeting for Satapuala, Tuiaana Ngalumalemana (gen. 28) was also mentioned. He had married Tuimaleali'ifano Tuitalili's daughter Sauimalae, whose descendants lived there. Ngalumalemana and I'amafana, his son by the above wife, were buried there[6].

The village district of Faleasi'u was occupied by both the Satuala and Mavaenga families, of the latter of which it was the Aana home. The genealogy of the Satuala family shows (gen. 24) that the Satuala chief Fenunuti had a son Tautaiolefue, who did not succeed to the Satuala title[7]. He married (gen. 25 of the Satuala-Mavaenga genealogy); and it was by his direct descendant that the Mavaenga family, an *ainga* of the Satuala, was founded[8].

The village district of Falelatai was the home of the Tauaana family, and the head-quarters of the Tuimaleali'ifano family. The relationship between these two families will be seen in the consideration of the next associated groups of families.

Three great families of chiefs—the Tangaroa of Falelatai

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 163–4. [2] *Ibid.* p. 177. [3] *Ibid.* p. 184.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 94. [5] *Ibid.* p. 184. [6] *Ibid.* p. 156.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 177. [8] *Ibid.* pp. 178 *sq.*

(so called to distinguish them from the Tangaroa family—probably their ancestors—of the island of Savai'i), the Tauaana (above mentioned), and the chief branch of the Tuimaleali'ifano (above mentioned) lived in the village district of Falelatai in Aana[1]. It seems evident that the Tangaroa family was the first to settle there, and that it was through marriage relationships with the Tangaroa that the two other families came there. According to legendary history, the Tangaroa must have been there from very early times, for Ulamasui, who aided his maternal uncles, Tuna and Fata, to free Samoa from the Tongan invaders, is said to have been the son of Tangaroaipata of Falelatai[2]. Tangaroa i Pata was the proper title of this family, which was thus distinguished from the Tangaroa of Savai'i[3]—Pata being the village of Falelatai possessing the title[4]. The tree of the Tangaroa of Falelatai, given by Krämer (1, 186–7) begins with Tangaroa-tele, son of Tuifa'asisina of the Lilomaiava line by a Falelatai woman[5]; Tangaroa-tele himself married a Falelatai woman also[6]. But according to the story of Ulumasui above mentioned, it seems clear that the Tangaroa family must have been settled at Falelatai before this. With regard to the Tauaana family, their genealogical tree was bound up with that of the Tangaroa of Falelatai[7], and Krämer says that they were the descendants of Safasavalu[8]—that is, the descendants of a woman (gen. 24) of the Tangaroa of Falelatai by Fasavalu, grandson of Tiumalumalilomaiava (gen. 24) of the Lilomaiava line[9]. The Tuimaleali'ifano family appears to have come to Falelatai through the marriage of Lilopongi (gen. 29) of the Tuimaleali'ifano line[10], with a daughter of Taefu, son of Tonumaiavo (gen. 23), of the Tangaroa of Falelatai[11].

Attention should also be drawn to the fact that, while the two last families seem to have come to Falelatai through marriages with women of the Tangaroa family there, all three families were, apart from this, of the same kin, the male founder of each line, as given by Krämer, being on his father's side descended from the Lilomaiava family. This descent from the Lilomaiava is shown above with regard to the Tangaroa and the Tauaana; the Tuimaleali'ifano family was founded by Tuitalili, son of Lilomaiava Letamaaleaitu (gen. 26)[12].

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 186, 149, 188.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 163.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 186 *note* 2.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 163.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 184.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 186.
[7] *Ibid.* pp. 186–7.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 186 *note* 2.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 184.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 188.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 187.
[12] *Ibid.* p. 185.

In the Falelatai greeting[1] all these families were saluted; but the Tangaroa family seems to have had the precedence, which indeed would be due to it as the original family.

The two great related families of the *tuiatua* were, first the Salevalasi, and second the Safenunuivao. For the purpose of understanding the bearing of what I have to say about them, it is necessary to refer to the map of Upolu. The district of Itu Salefao, spreading along the southern coast of Atua, was, as we have seen, a self-governing area, having its seat of government. In this district there were three village districts, Lepa to the east, Lotofanga in the middle, and Falealili to the west, each having its constituent villages; among these villages was Salani, the easternmost village of Falealili, forming the frontier village between it and Lotofanga[2]. The Salevalasi were established in Lotofanga (their original home and chief seat) and Lepa; they also occupied two village districts in the district of Aleipata to the east and one in that of Itu Anoamaa to the north[3]. The home of the Safenunuivao was the village of Salani and a village district in Itu Anoamaa[4]. An examination of the greetings of the villages of Falealili[5], and a comparison of those greetings with the genealogies, shows that those villages (other than Salani) were originally a home of the Tolufale family[6], and that the Safenunuivao family had got to Falealili through intermarriages, etc., with the Tolufale family, thus forming a Tolufale-Safenunuivao combination. There is no sign of any Salevalasi element in the greetings of the Falealili villages (including Salani), nor any sign of any Safenunuivao element in the greetings of Lotofanga and Lepa. The prominence of the Salevalasi in Lotofanga and Lepa[7] is reflected in the greetings of the *fono* of those two village districts, and the importance of Safenunuivao in Salani[8] is illustrated by its greetings. Each of the three village districts of Lotofanga, Lepa and Falealili has its own seat of government, and these three village districts combined together for the government of the whole district of Itu Salefao, the seat of government being Lepa[9]. We thus find in the district of Itu Salefao clear social groupings, the village districts of Lotofanga and Lepa being Salevalasi, whilst one of the villages of the village district of Falealili was Safenunuivao, and the others were related Tolufale and Safenunuivao inter-

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 163–4.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 285–7.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 272, 295–6.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 272, 300, 310.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 289–90.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 190–3.
[7] *Ibid.* pp. 285–7.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 289.
[9] *Ibid.* pp. 270, 285 *sqq.*

mixture. On the other hand, the joint government of Itu Salefao by the Salevalasi and the Safenunuivao-Tolufale combination points to local governmental grouping, unless we can refer it to some kinship between them. So far as the Tolufale were concerned, it may well be that this relatively unimportant family would be included for political purposes in its powerful relative the Safenunuivao. As regards the latter and the Salevalasi, Krämer says, not only that they were the two great *ainga* of the *tuiatua*, but that they dated from a very ancient time. They were first really established through Salamasina (who, as we have seen, was related to all the royal families of Upolu, and was the first *tafa'ifa*, or sovereign of all Samoa), or at least they first rose to importance about this period[1]. The antiquity and importance of these two families, both closely connected with the *tuiatua*, suggests that their distant ancestors had probably in a period long past been closely related; and it may well have been that their neighbouring occupation of practically the whole of the south coast of Atua was connected with this ancient relationship, and had dated from the distant past, and that their co-operation for governmental purposes of that coast must also be associated with it. In that case the governmental grouping of the district of Itu Salefao was, in origin, social, and not merely local.

There was in the village district of Sangafili, in Aana, the family named Lilomaiava. The second holder of the title married the daughter of a relatively unimportant orator chief of the village district of Palauli, on the southern coast of Savai'i, and had a son by her, who would presumably, in accordance with what seems to have been the usual Samoan custom when a chief married a woman of lower rank—generally the daughter of an orator—remain in his mother's home in Palauli. The younger brother of this second holder married the daughter of an orator chief of the village district of Safotu, on the northern coast of Savai'i. In consequence of these marriages the title went, according to Krämer, to both Palauli and Safotu[2]. I am not quite sure what he means by this, because the holder of the actual title would presumably live at Sangafili; so I imagine he only means that branches of the family, sharing the right to control the succession to the title, were established at Palauli and Safotu. After this, Krämer says, the granting of the Lilomaiava title was in the hands of Sangafili, in conjunction with Palauli and

[1] *Ibid.* p. 295. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 184–5.

Safotu, the three village districts being spoken of as the "Three-legged stool"[1]. The greetings of Sangafili[2] include a welcome to the representative of the founder of the Lilomaiava family and to the "Three-legged stool"; those of Palauli[3] include a welcome to the representatives of the family in that village; those of Safotu[4] include members of the Lilomaiava family, and there is a greeting "to your honourable chief Lilomaiava." The reference in the Sangafili greeting to the three-legged stool indicates that the orators at Palauli and Safotu, who shared with Sangafili in the right to grant the Lilomaiava title, had the right to attend the *fono* at Sangafili, the head-quarters of the family. The Safotu greeting, addressed apparently to the head chief of the Lilomaiava family, who would presumably be living at Sangafili, would probably be a compliment paid to him as the head of the parent family, but it may indicate that he as its head chief had a right to attend officially at a *fono* of a branch of the family. In any case the association of the two village districts of Savai'i with the parent village district in Aana, exactly similar, subject to the further question to which it gives rise, with that of the Malietoa, seems to be a definite example of social grouping.

I have already spoken of the great Salevalasi family of Atua, whose original home and head-quarters was the village district of Lotofanga in the district of Itu Salefao, but who had branch families in two village districts of the district of Aleipata. One of these two village districts was Amaile[5]. There was in the village district of Faleata (in Tuamasanga) a titled family of Mata'afa, and the legend of the origin of this title suggests that it was one of antiquity[6]. The head of the Amaile branch of the Salevalasi family married the daughter of the holder in Faleata of the Mata'afa title, and Krämer says that in this way the Mata'afa title came to the Salevalasi family[7]. Now I have, in speaking of the Lilomaiava family, questioned the correctness of Krämer's saying that "the title went" to two other village districts, on the ground that the home of the holder of the title would not be affected in that case. In the present case, however, there seems to be no doubt that what passed through this marriage from Faleata to Amaile was the actual Mata'afa title; for Krämer says higher up on the

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 61, 66, 156–7, 183 *note* 1.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 157. [3] *Ibid.* p. 66. [4] *Ibid.* p. 61.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 272, 296. [6] *Ibid.* p. 256. [7] *Ibid.* p. 296.

same page[1], "while the bearers of the title at an earlier date dwelt in Faleata itself, the title came through marriage to this Amaile branch of the Salevalasi, *to which it is still granted in a hereditary way*" (the italics are mine). The genealogy of the Salevalasi-Mata'afa family thus formed in Amaile shows that the succession to the Mata'afa title passed along with the succession to the title of the Amaile branch of the Salevalasi family, to the son of the marriage above referred to, and through him downwards to subsequent generations, and the Mata'afa thenceforth, according to Krämer, lived in Amaile[2]. After this change, the granting of the Mata'afa title remained, as before, with Faleata[3]. The Faleata greetings included a welcome to the chief Mata'afa[4]. The Amaile greetings included welcomes to the Salevalasi chief, and in several forms to the Mata'afa family, and finally a welcome to "the sons equal to Mata'afa"[5].

I must, before considering this matter, as affecting the question of social grouping, draw attention to one or two of its features. In the case of the Lilomaiava family the marriages were only with the daughters of *relatively* unimportant orator chiefs, and so the sons of the marriages would probably, according to Samoan customs, remain with their mother's people, and would not be likely to succeed to the Lilomaiava title. In this Salevalasi case the marriage was with the daughter of a title chief, and his title seems to have been an old one, and would therefore be an important one in Samoan eyes. The presumed intention of such a marriage would, according to Samoan custom, be that the woman should be the official wife of the Salevalasi chief, to whose issue the succession to the local Salevalasi title (the Amaile branch of the family was not that which held the family title) would probably pass; she would come to live with her husband's people, and her children would do so afterwards. A son of this marriage might succeed to both the local Salevalasi title of his father, and the Mata'afa title of his maternal grandfather, and that was what evidently occurred, and in consequence both of them became centred in Amaile.

This Salevalasi-Mata'afa case differs from those of the Malietoa and Lilomaiava families. In each of the latter two cases there was a parent titled family with outside branches, and the branches were entitled to take part in controlling the succession to the title and in the affairs of the parent family. In the Salevalasi-

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.* pp. 295–6. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 226, 227.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 227. [5] *Ibid.* p. 282.

Mata'afa case the title of one of the families left its home, passed to that of the other family, and remained there. Krämer's statement that the Mata'afa thenceforth lived in Amaile must be taken to refer only to the holder of the title and his immediate relations, and not to the related families in Faleata, as otherwise the granting of the title could not have remained in Faleata, as there would have been no one left there to grant it. One interesting feature of the matter, from our present point of view, is that though the Mata'afa title had left its Faleata home entirely and permanently, the people still remaining in Faleata, who had previously granted the title, still continued to do so. This, I imagine, might well be so, if only the holder of the title and perhaps his immediate family had removed to Amaile.

The *fono* at Faleata of the Mata'afa group evidently continued to be held there, and the greeting offered there to the Mata'afa chief indicates, I think, that he or his representative was entitled to be present, as we might almost assume would be the case, and presumably he would take some of his people with him. It is evident from the greetings offered at the Amaile *fono* to the Mata'afa family and to "the sons equal to Mata'afa" that he and his people at Amaile were entitled to be present there also, and this right would be based upon the relationship between the two groups which the marriage had created. The interesting features of the case are that people of Faleata granted one of the titles of a chief living in Amaile, and that he, and possibly some of his relatives at Amaile, appear to have taken part in the Faleata *fono*. He would presumably in any case take his own advisers; but probably there would be other members of his section of the group who, if there had been no removal, would have been persons entitled to be present; and if they were excluded, it would follow that in matters affecting the whole group the important royal section of the group was partly disfranchised, though the other sections retained their rights, and this is a situation which it is difficult to conceive in Samoa.

I referred, in considering areas and systems, to the old Tangaroa family of Savai'i, and the legend as to its origin through the matrimonial privileges given by Fune to the god Tangaroa, and gave the names of the four village districts (Safune-taoa, Vaiafai, Vaisala and Sili) arising from its foundation, these being scattered round the north, east and south coasts of the island[1].

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 46, 89–90. (Vaiafai was part of Iva.)

I do not know what was the actual origin of the distribution of the family among these village districts; but the original settlement seems to have been Safune-taoa[1], and perhaps that is the reason why that was the only name of this place, whilst the other three had their separate names, the addition of "Safune" being commonly prefixed to these. I see that Fune's first wife was a Vaiafai woman, and the first wife of his son and successor was a Sili woman[2], which is possibly the explanation of these two, they having been the homes of Fune's descendants by these two women. There was a story deriving the name of Vaisala from an incident connected with Fune, the first holder of the title[3]. Though Safune was said to have been the original home of the family, Tufu Ngautavai (of which Sili formed part)[4] was its principal settlement. These four village districts combined in granting the Tangaroa title; the election being in the hands of the eight orator chiefs mentioned in the legend (that is, the holders from time to time of the family names)[5]. The greetings of each of the four places included welcomes to "Safune" (the family of Fune), and to its own two orator chiefs (forming together the eight mentioned in the legend) who sat on each side of the chief[6]; so here again we find that the electors of the chief took leading parts at the *fono*, and the social grouping of the people was not local, but was scattered round the island.

The Muliana family of Savai'i was, as we have seen, founded by Mulianalafai, the youngest child of Lafai by his first wife[7]. This was not a chief's but a great orator family, so important, indeed, that it had its electoral college, as I have called it, just as had the families of the chiefs[8]. Krämer attributes to him the foundation of the four Muliana village districts of Savai'i, namely Salailua (on the west coast), Ngataivai (on the south coast), Amoa (on the east coast) and Lealatele (near the north-eastern corner); there was also, apparently, an unimportant colony in the village district of Iva (on the east). He says the first family home was Ngataivai, where they got into close connection with the Tangaroa family; they then spread out, more especially over Salailua and Amoa, and over Lealatele[9]. Their elective "House of Four" were families from

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 46, 62.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 90.
[3] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 63. Cf. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 78.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 67.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 46, 89 *sq.*
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 51, 62, 68, 78.
[7] *Ibid.* pp. 85, 87.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 87.
[9] *Ibid.* pp. 46, 85, 87 *sqq.*

these four village districts; the genealogical tree of the family discloses the marriages which apparently took the family to Ngataivai and Amoa and Iva[1]. Among the greetings in each village district were those to the *faleupolu*—that is, the council of orators—spoken of as "Salemuliana," or family of Muliana[2]. Here, again, we have a social and governmental connection between the people of four scattered village districts.

A special interest of these village districts of the Tangaroa and Muliana families will appear when we consider the question of the social character of war.

The Tonumaipe'a family bore one of the two important "original" titles of Savai'i (the other having been that of Tangaroa). We have seen that it was they who brought about the establishment of the office of *tafa'ifa*, or king of all Samoa. Their interest, so far as our present purpose is concerned, is the peculiar divided character of their political organization. Their chief homes were ten village districts; two of these, Falealupo and Sataua, were in the district of Asau, the north-western point of Savai'i; three others, Tufutafoe, Ne'iafu and Falelima, were also in the district of Asau, on its western coast; four others, Samata, Faiaai, Vaipua and Sangone, were in the district of Salenga, about half way down the western coast of Savai'i; the remaining village district, Satupaitea, was isolated far away from all the others, being east of the centre of the southern coast of the island, the whole of which coast was, according to Krämer, in essentials subject to the chiefs of two families, of which I have already spoken, the Muliana and Lilomaiava[3]. The title was granted by the "House of the Four," comprising the distant village district of Satupaitea and the five village districts of the district of Asau (the three west coast Asau village districts being regarded as one voice)[4]. A curious feature of the organization was that, whilst the widely-separated Satupaitea was the seat of government of itself and of the four village districts of the district of Salenga[5], all the five village districts of the district of Asau had a separate seat of government in the village district of Asau in the district of Asau[6].

This arrangement, by which the seat of government of the village district of Satupaitea and of the four village districts in the district of Salenga was at Satupaitea, far removed from the other four village districts, and isolated, apparently, among village

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 87 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 51, 54, 59, 67, 70.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 71.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 95.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.* p. 72.

districts of other families, which were dominated more or less by the Muliana and Lilomaiava families, whilst the seat of government of the five village districts in the district of Asau was the village district of Asau, which did not belong to the Tonumaipe'a family, is so peculiar that it requires investigation; and I think I have discovered a possible explanation of the matter.

As I have said in considering areas and systems the Tonumaipe'a family claimed descent from the god Si'uleo and his daughter, the war goddess Nafanua; but we have here to look into another line of ancestry, starting with the Muliana family mentioned above[1]. According to Krämer's pedigrees, one of the ancestors of the Muliana family married the daughter of the *tuiasau*, or king of Asau[2], and they had a daughter Leutongitupaitea[3]. She married one of the *tuitonga*, or kings of Tonga; and in consequence of domestic disputes her husband tried in several ways to kill her, but she was on each occasion saved by a number of *pe'a*, or flying foxes; he placed her on a desert island, where she was found by a man, who married her, and she had a son Fa'asenga; when this son was grown-up, she sent him to her mother's people in Savai'i, and he landed in Falelima in the district of Asau, and founded his family there. She gave him three titles, of which one was Tonumaipe'a, given in commemoration of the help given to her by the *pe'a*[4]. In these accounts we find a possible connecting link between Satupaitea and Asau, the former having perhaps been a village district of, or more or less dominated by, the Muliana ancestors of the Tonumaipe'a family, and the latter having been the maternal home of the woman of paternal Muliana origin, whose son settled there and was the first to hold the Tonumaipe'a title. Of course fanciful tales such as that of the flying foxes, must not be relied upon too much; but they often point to beliefs in the minds of the people which have some historical foundation.

Passing on to a later period, we find that a chief of the Tonumaipe'a line, named Tapumanaia, married Salamasina, who was, as we have seen, the first *tafa'ifa* of all Samoa; and they had a daughter Fofoaivao'ese, who was a *tuiaana*[5]. This daughter married a chief of Satupaitea, who was, Krämer

[1] See *Ibid.* pp. 87, 95. [2] *Ibid.* p. 87. [3] *Ibid.* p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 94 *sq.* (I have referred incidentally to this legend in discussing the early history of Samoa.) [5] *Ibid.* pp. 98, 170.

thinks, probably the holder of the Tonumaipe'a title[1]. As she was the daughter of a *tafa'ifa*, who held the necessary *tuiaana* and *tuiatua* and two Tuamasanga titles, and was herself a *tuiaana*, and her husband perhaps held the title of Tonumaipe'a, they combined between them most aristocratic ranks, and this and the further fact that he was a Satupaitea man justifies us in believing that Satupaitea was then the principal village district and governmental centre of the Tonumaipe'a family, and would account for its having still been so at a later date.

Up to this point I have offered evidence suggesting that Satupaitea had been in the past the governmental centre of the whole Tonumaipe'a family, and have given what seems to have been a possible connecting link between the Tonumaipe'a at Satupaitea and the district of Asau. Turning now to the five village districts in the district of Asau, the Mavaenga family, to which I have referred in a previous page, was one of the great *ainga* (related) families of the *tuiaana*, so important that they were specially mentioned in the greetings of the *fono* of all Aana, held at Leulumoenga; they had a home in Aana, another in the village district of Sasina near the eastern end of the north coast of Savai'i, and two others also in the village districts of Asau and Sataua in the district of Asau[2]. According to Krämer, however, their connection with Asau was recent[3]. It will be noticed that the village district of Sataua was a home of both the Tonumaipe'a and Mavaenga, and its *fono* greetings begin with a welcome to the "House of the Four" (who granted the Tonumaipe'a title), after which there was a welcome to the Tonumaipe'a family, whilst the last greeting of all was to the Mavaenga family, spoken of as *ainga*[4]. I gather from this that this village district of Sataua was predominantly Tonumaipe'an, and that the Mavaenga branch family there were connected with their Tonumaipe'an neighbours by marriage, and so were an *ainga* or branch family of the Tonumaipe'a. We should expect to see in the *fono* greetings of the village district of Asau, occupied by the Mavaenga, and not the Tonumaipe'a, family, but which was the seat of government of all the villages of the district of Asau, including the Tonumaipe'a villages, some reference to the Tonumaipe'a people. On referring to these greetings we find, along with Asau and Aana welcomes, a

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 98.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 149.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 102.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 79.

greeting to "the stone walls of Salafai"[1]—that is, of the family of Lafai. The walls in question were evidently the ancient stone walls in the neighbourhood[2], attributed, apparently, to Lafai, who, as we have seen, contributed so largely to the early peopling of Savai'i. The Tonumaipe'a family claimed descent from Lafai, but the Aana people were not connected with him[3], so this greeting probably referred to the Tonumaipe'a.

Krämer draws attention to the peculiarity of the arrangement, under which these ten village districts of the Tonumaipe'a family were for governmental purposes divided into two groups, each with its governmental centre, and attributes it apparently to the influence in Asau of the *tuiaana* family[4]; and the fact that he does so shows that he regards it as abnormal. He evidently considers that, according to Samoan customs, the social and governmental grouping of people should be coincident, which is in itself testimony in favour of the proposition that the system of grouping was primarily social, and not local. I think his suggested explanation of this case is probably correct. It would have been quite consistent with Samoan custom, as I understand it, if the village districts of the ten Tonumaipe'a families had been separated into two governmental groups, provided there was also a central government over the whole. In the present case, however, the five Asau village districts, while still associated with one of the other Tonumaipe'a village districts in the control of the title, a matter in which no outsider was concerned, were separated from them governmentally, and tacked on, as it were, to the Mavaenga people. This does not involve a purely artificial association with unrelated strangers, for we have seen how closely connected were the Tonumaipe'a people with the *tuiaana*, of whom the Mavaenga family, including its members in the district of Asau, was a branch; also the Tonumaipe'a and Mavaenga people in that district had evidently by intermarriage, etc., become closely related, so as to be *ainga* to each other. I suspect that the explanation of the whole matter is that the Asau villages of the Tonumaipe'a family were relatively unimportant, so far as that family was concerned, and so had become the more easily absorbed politically by the Mavaenga branch in Asau, with

[1] *Ibid.* p. 76. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 75–7.
[3] I mean according to the traditions of the origins of the families.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 71 *sq.*

whom the Asau Tonumaipe'a were related, of the powerful Aana family. The reference in the Sataua greeting to the "House of the Four" suggests that the *fono* there was open, not only to the elective family representing Sataua, but also to the two representatives of Falealupo and the three other Tonumaipe'a village districts in Asau, and to the representative of Satupaitea.

I have discussed the social and political organizations of a number of specific Samoan families in what may seem to be wearisome detail, because I think that they offer instructive illustrations of the fundamentally social principles upon which in my opinion the distribution and organization of the people of Samoa were based, and thus enable us to grasp the practical operation of these principles more fully than we could do from general statements.

Concerning the whole question of social and local grouping in Samoa, I refer again to Krämer's statement that the family was the basis of the state and that we might call Samoa a family state. I say that it is impossible for any one to study Samoan history and ethnography without being conscious that the whole atmosphere of the social and political life and ideas of the people was one of family relationship rather than geographical proximity; and I think that the evidence which has appeared in the previous pages, indicates, so far as it goes, that the grouping of the Samoans was primarily social.

TONGA

The very limited material available concerning the social and political relationships of the people of the Tongan Islands is insufficient for enabling us actually to demonstrate the character of the grouping there, but I think it shows what it almost must have been. We may begin with the recognition that there were in the island of Tongatabu three great families, whose head chiefs were the *tuitonga*, the *tuihaatakalaua* and the *tuikanokubolu*, each of which families occupied its own portion of the island; and to this extent social and local grouping were coincident. But Tonga does not, nor, I may say, do any of the other islands of Polynesia, offer to us minute and detailed material comparable with that which, owing to Krämer's great industry, is at our disposal in investigating the grouping of Samoa; and which we should, I think, bear in mind in con-

sidering the evidence available from other islands. We know that the three main districts of Tongatabu were divided into sub-districts or villages, which were under the rules of their respective chiefs; but we cannot prove relationship between them and the great head chiefs of the districts. It seems, however, extremely probable, looking at the matter in the light of what we know of Samoa, that this relationship subsisted. It may, I think, be assumed that the families of these chiefs were branches and sub-branches derived from one or other of the three great families; and unless we are going to imagine that these branches and sub-branches had all scattered themselves indiscriminately over the whole island, whether there were or were not reasons, such as we have seen in Samoa, for moving elsewhere, instead of remaining within the area of their own main family group, we must believe that there was, speaking generally, a relationship, close or distant, between the head chiefs of the districts and the chiefs of the sub-districts into which the districts were divided, and this would be, so far as it goes, social grouping. This would not be inconsistent with intermixture produced by marriages, such as I have considered with reference to Samoa, and which would be, as I have suggested, quite in accord with the principles of social grouping, as the families and lines of descendants of the married couples would in fact commonly be recognized as being members, either actually or in a sense, according to the circumstances, of the social group among which they lived.

These *eiki* or chiefs of sub-districts would vary in rank; and after them came the *matabule*, a class apparently somewhat similar in certain respects to the *tulafale ali'i* (orator chiefs) and *tulafale* (orators) of Samoa. I do not think the line of distinction between the classes of chiefs and orators was nearly so exact and clean cut in either Samoa or Tonga, or indeed in Polynesia generally, as some writers would lead us to suppose; but I cannot discuss this matter here. After the *matabule* came, according to Mariner, the *mua*, who like the chiefs and *matabule* were a landowning class, and after them the *tua*, or bulk of the people, though I may say there seems to be some inconsistency in statements of writers as to these respective designated classes. These are matters which will be discussed in a later chapter; but I mention them now in connection with grouping. Mariner does not recognize any modern blood relationship between the *matabule* and the chiefs, though he refers to beliefs

as to relationships in the past; but he says that the *mua* were related to the *matabule* and the *tua* to the *mua*, and that in each of these two cases members of the lower grade could succeed to the rank of the grade above them provided they could trace their relationship[1]. Gerland quotes Meinicke (*Südseevolker*, p. 82) as saying that the family was the basis of the structure of society, the *matabule* being the collateral relations of the chiefs, the *mua* of the *matabule*, and the *tua* of the *mua*[2]. In this Meinicke agrees with Mariner, except as regards the relationship of the *matabule* to the chiefs, and in this I think he is right, partly because Mariner's view involves, except as regards native suppositions as to what had occurred in the past, a hiatus between the chiefs and the *matabule*, and not between other classes, the explanation of which would be difficult to understand, and partly because according to that view the system of Tonga would differ fundamentally from what I believe to have been that of Samoa.

I may also say that one of the French missionaries speaks of the *matabule* as being chiefs of the second class[3]; that Baker, in his dictionary, defines them as being petty chiefs; and that there are cases in which two writers refer to the same man, one of them calling him a chief, and the other a *matabule*. D'Urville refers to two chiefs, who were, he says, the two first *matabule* of Tonga[4].

The *matabule* were, says Mariner, the honourable attendants upon chiefs, and their companions and counsellors, seeing to the execution of their orders, managing all ceremonies, and conservators of the traditionary records, which they handed down to their sons. The *mua*, like the *matabule*, formed part of the retinues of the chiefs, and assisted the *matabule* at public ceremonies, and sometimes even arranged and directed them themselves[5]. Elsewhere he tells us that the *matabule* and *mua* associated freely with the chiefs *to whom they belonged* (my italics), were their necessary attendants at kava parties, etc. They also associated *with the followers of other chiefs* (my italics). Every high or governing chief had his inferior chiefs and *matabule*. He gives, as an example of the situation, the life of a very young son of a high chief whose playmates were the sons of the inferior chiefs, *matabule* and *mua* of his father's establish-

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 89 *sqq.*
[2] Gerland, vol. VI, pp. 172 *sq.*
[3] *A.P.F.* vol. XXVII, p. 394.
[4] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 74.
[5] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 90 *sq.*

ment, and says that on the death of the father the son would succeed to his authority, whereupon the *matabule* of his father became his own *matabule* and the inferior chiefs and *mua* also entered into his service[1]. Thomson says that each chief had *hereditary* (my italics) retainers, who followed him to battle and obeyed him in time of peace[2].

Now the present interest of all these details is the insight which they offer us into the social life of the people. We may, I think, almost assume that the *matabule* who attended a high chief, whose sons played with his son, who afterwards attended the son as their chief on his succeeding to the title, and who kept the records of the family traditions, would be, in the main at all events, those who and whose ancestors were and had been related to that chief and his ancestors, and so on with the lower ranks; and if this was so, they would all, taken together, form a social group, living together in the same locality, and all under the same local government of the chief and his assistant *matabule*. The hereditary character of the retainers of the chiefs, referred to by Thomson, points in the same direction. I have not been able to work out the evidence of social grouping in stages, starting with the district of a great chief, and carrying it downwards to the sub-districts or villages, as I tried to do as regards Samoa; but I think we are justified in believing that the system of Tonga was mainly social, and may have been very much the same as the fundamental system of Samoa, though we have no means of ascertaining the political relationship in Tonga to a parent group of an outlying colony outside the main area of the group.

SOCIETY ISLANDS

The Teva people of Tahiti must, I think, be regarded as having been a large social group. They believed they had a common ancestral origin from a shark god and a Vaiari chieftainess. They were divided into a number of sub-groups, each with its head chief, of whom one (originally of Vaiari, and afterwards of Papara) ruled over all of them; and though I cannot demonstrate definitely the social inter-relationship between the ruling families of these sub-groups, each occupying its own district, I think it must have been there. Ari'i Taimai's

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 209 *sq.*

[2] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 222.

historical records and comments upon these Teva people, appear to disclose a general idea of an original social relationship, even though it is not actually asserted and defined. As examples of this I refer to her statements that "The eight Teva districts recognized Teriirere or Temarii of Papara as their political head, although Teriinui-o-Tahiti, the Vaiari chief, was socially the superior, and Vehiatua of Taiarapu was sometimes politically the stronger"[1], and that "The Papara family was probably a younger branch of the Vaiari family.... At some time a revolution had overthrown Vaiari, and put Papara in its place; but, while Papara took the political headship, it could not take the social superiority, for as long as society should last, the [Vaiari] *marae* of Farepua must remain the older and superior over all the *marae* of Papara and the Teva"[2]. I do not think we can doubt that this social superiority, of which she speaks, was that of relative rank of ancestry and blood within the group. So also her son Tati Salmon, speaking of the Teva people, says that those who could trace back their genealogical trees to the *marae* Farepua were *ari'i*, the head of these being called the *ari'i rahi*[3]. This was the very sacred Vaiari *marae*, to which I have already referred as being older than and superior to all the other Teva *marae*; so Salmon's statement is in effect that the Teva chiefs had to prove their descent back to Vaiari people, who, as members of the original Vaiari clan, or social group, were associated with this *marae*; and this involves general relationship between them. I shall draw attention, in a later chapter, to the importance of a *marae* as the social title deed of a social group. The traditions, so far as they go, suggest that the Teva had from distant times occupied the area in the larger peninsula, and at all events part of the smaller peninsula, which they occupied in modern days; in which case social and local grouping have been, as regards the group as a whole, coincident, and apparently this has been so to a great extent as regards the districts into which the Teva area was divided[4].

Passing now to the district of Attahuru, with its great Oro *marae*, I refer to the tradition, mentioned by Lesson, that these fanatic worshippers, as he calls them, of Oro, were derived from a body of immigrants from Ra'iatea, and to the suggestion that they were, or were regarded as, a group distinct from the

[1] Ari'i Taimai, p. 8. [2] *Ibid.* p. 18. [3] *J.P.S.* vol. XIX, p. 46.
[4] Cf. T. Salmon, *J.P.S.* vol. XIX, pp. 45 *sq.*

other people of Tahiti; and if so, we may notice that here again local and social grouping may have been more or less coincident.

The rest of Tahiti appears to offer no material for the discussion of the grouping of large sections of the people. As regards Purionuu, its royal family, of which the Pomares were the representatives, were evidently a relatively modern addition to the chieftaincies of Tahiti, having originated in the Paumotu, and their Society Island rank having been secured mainly by matrimonial alliances in Ra'iatea and Tahiti; there were evidently chiefs in this district before the Paumotuan ancestor of the Pomares arrived in the island, but we know nothing of them. We cannot say therefore to what extent the people in this district were socially related in origin. Forster, however, whose information was collected in northern Tahiti, says that the chiefs were descended from the same family[1]; and there is a reference to a chief of Pare[2] who was half-brother of Pomare I[3]; and there are references to chiefs of districts to the east of Purionu who were brothers of one or other of the Pomares[4].

There was a belief that all the chiefs of Huahine were descended from the two sons of an ancestral chief[5]; and if the eight images placed on either side of the central platform of Tane in his *marae* in Huahine may be regarded as having represented the eight tutelar gods of the people of the eight districts into which the island was divided, then it may well be that the people of each of those districts was a separate branch social group, but that they were all of common social origin, being all connected with this *marae*. I refer again, however, as to this, to the Society Island custom of dividing areas into eight sections, which suggests some artificial basis of grouping, which could hardly have been purely social in character.

According to Wheeler, the three chiefs of the island of Borabora next in authority after the king were all his sons-in-law by marriage[6]. He does not say that they were chiefs of districts, so there is a deficiency in his evidence.

[1] Forster, vol. II, p. 157. It must be remembered that at this time the power of the Pomare family had spread eastward of their own district.
[2] T. Henry, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 8.
[3] Ari'i Taimai, p. 111.
[4] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, pp. 137 *sq.* (as to district of Matavai); *T.M.S.* vol. I, p. 9 (as to Whapiano); Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, p. 166 (as to Tirarei).
[5] Davies's *Dict.* p. iv.
[6] Wheeler, p. 139.

I have been speaking so far of what I have called districts, each with its head chief; but I will now turn to minor areas—sub-districts or villages. Smith says that in every Tahitian district all the body of chiefs, one above another, were more or less connected by kindred ties[1]. I shall, when considering in a later chapter the subject of the middle and lower classes of society, have to refer to the groups of people called *hiva*, consisting of persons called individually *iatoai*, who were evidently in charge of these sub-districts of districts, and were in rank between the *ari'i* and the *ra'atira* [middle classes]. They are said to have been relatives of the *ari'i*, and apparently, as we shall see, it was they who elected an *ari'i*, and their office was hereditary—remaining in certain families. I think that the evidence points to a social basis of the grouping within the districts[2].

HERVEY ISLANDS

Gill has given us particulars of a number of separate groups of people in the island of Mangaia; but unfortunately he supplies little or no material for the consideration of the question of social and local grouping. The Ngariki people, regarded as the earlier inhabitants, and their branch families may have been distributed widely over the island, and these branch families may have had their separate districts. Their Mautara branch, for instance, is said by Gill to have been a tribe of people holding two districts, the ownership of which had never changed. The original Tongan immigrants were, as we have seen, allowed, after their defeat, to occupy the spot in the south of the island where they had landed, but we do not know whether they retained it. The Aitu and Tekama people were practically exterminated long ago. We have no knowledge of subsequent events, as affecting the question of grouping, and cannot say whether these several peoples or their remnants remained in the districts which they are credited with having first occupied, or moved elsewhere, or became distributed and mixed with one another. We have been told of the six minor chiefs of Mangaia, each apparently having his own district, and it is extremely probable that each of these chiefs

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. VI, p. 212.

[2] The evidence as to the *hiva* will include a reference to the idea of a *vaa*, or canoe, comparable with that as to the *vaka*, or canoe, to be mentioned presently in connection with Rarotonga.

was at the head of a specific social group or sub-group of the inhabitants; and in that case there must have been more or less of coincidence between social and local grouping; but we have no evidence as to this.

Gill says that in Mangaia each clan had its separate gods, customs, traditions, and songs, and constituted one great family, with a single head, and pledged to defend each other to the death[1], and here, as elsewhere, he uses the term "clan" to designate the main groups of people occupying the island. This statement, taken by itself, has no bearing upon our present subject, but there is a little information that points to a connection. We are told that one of the conceptions of the god Tane, incarnate in two birds, was worshipped at Maputo; another conception of the same god, incarnate in sprats, was worshipped at Maraeteva; and another conception of him, recognized in the planets Venus and Jupiter, and enshrined in sinnet work, was worshipped at Maungaroa[2]. Turanga was worshipped at Aumoana[3]; and there is a story of a person selected for sacrifice who could not be killed in the part of the island sacred to Turanga (presumably one of his worshippers), and so had to be dragged across the border[4]. Tonga-iti was also worshipped at Aumoana[5]. Tiaio was worshipped at Mara[6]. Teipe was worshipped at Vaiau[7]. I do not know whether the places named are districts or only villages, or where they are, so the effect of the evidence is not specific; but it suggests broadly that the worship of certain gods was localized, and if their respective worshippers were different social groups—they could not all be Gill's clans—this points to some degree of local grouping by members of social groups.

In discussing the social character of war I shall have to refer, among other things, to the practice for a social group to co-operate in war. I think that I am justified in looking at this question the other way round; that where we find traditions of what were apparently separate social groups of people, the distinction between whom seems to have been afterwards maintained, then I may point to records of what was apparently intergroup warfare in support of evidence as to the social character of their relationships, each within itself. I therefore draw attention to Gill's list of wars fought in Mangaia, and

[1] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 136. [2] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 96. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 39. [5] Gill, *Myths*, pp. 10 *sq.*
[6] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 96. [7] *Ibid.* p. 309.

point out that, so far as we can identify the combatants, these wars seem as a rule to have been between two of the three main groups—Ngariki, Tongan and Tahitian—or sections of them, whilst in the few cases in which this was not so, the fighting may have been between separate branches of one of them, as indeed it seems in some cases to have been. It is difficult to see how these wars could have been organized and conducted if all these peoples had been scattered and mixed indiscriminately over the island. Each group must, one would imagine, have had its habitat, or possibly a number of habitats, of which one may have been the main or central home; and if so social and local grouping would be more or less coincident.

The consideration of the grouping of Rarotonga starts with a recognition of the Karika or Makea group, occupying a northern district of the island, and the Tangiia group, occupying a district in the east; then to these we have to add the Tinomana group to the west, who were apparently, in origin at all events, an offshoot of the Tangiia people. We have seen that each of these three main groups or *ngati* was divided into a number of sub-groups or *hapu*; but I cannot demonstrate the social relationship between the *ngati* and their constituent *hapu*, or between the still smaller groups. There are, however, a few references which throw light upon the prevailing system of grouping in the island. According to Buzacott, the whole "clan," by which he probably means what we might call a consanguine family, lived and slept under one roof, old and young, men and women, without even a screen to separate them[1]. Gill says that the indigenous arrowroot plant has one or two large tuberous roots, surrounded by many smaller ones; and that to the Rarotongan mind, the large tubers symbolized the chief or chiefs, and the smaller ones the landed proprietors, owing allegiance to, and by blood related to the chief or chiefs[2]. William Gill speaks of these landowners as having been related to the *ariki*, or having gained their position by deeds of valour[3]. Moss says that in 1823, when the first Christian mission to Rarotonga was begun, that island was "as now," divided among three tribes, each with an independent *ariki* at its head; and the family—a group of agnates and adopted children—was then "as now," the unit in the state. The various families were

[1] Buzacott, p. 240.
[2] Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VII, p. 799.
[3] W. Gill, *Gems*, vol. II, p. 12.

united with kindred families under a chief of the *ngati*, which was known by that chief's ancestral name; and the *ngati* in their turn were united under the *ariki* of the *vaka*, or whole tribe[1]. Referring to the use, some lines above, of the term *ngati* for the three main groups, and its use now for what were evidently the main sections of those groups, I may say that it is a general term which would be applicable to both. It is a term which, in one form or another, is used in different parts of Polynesia as a prefix to names of tribes or groups, and it is interesting on account of the meaning which apparently underlies it. According to Tregear's dictionary, *ngati*, used by the Maori as a prefix to names of tribes, signifies "descendants of"; in Tahiti *ati* [the *ng* is wanting in *Tahiti*], a patronymic prefix, points out the name of the ancestor or parent with the descendants; in Mangareva *ati* means a descendant; in Mangaia the same meaning is given to *ngati*; in the Paumotu *ngati* means, not only a tribe, but a race or breed. The term itself therefore is suggestive of social relationship within these groups, great or small. The word *vaka* means a canoe, and Moss explains how it came to be used symbolically for a tribe[2]. The word *hapu*, meaning a sub-group of a *ngati*, is also interesting. With the Maori it means both "pregnant" and a "sub-tribe"; in Tahiti, the Marquesas and the Paumotu it means "pregnant"; in Hawai'i *ha* means "breath" and *pu* "to come forth"; in Tonga *habu* means "a banana leaf, tied at both ends to hold water," and *habuto* means "to bulge out." So also in Mangaia and the Paumotu *kopu* means a tribe, whilst among the Maori it means the "belly" or "womb." The use of *hapu* for a sub-group may therefore be based on beliefs as to common descent from the same female ancestor. Moss says that the constitutional unit "is still" the family, often comprising two or three generations living closely together, or under the same roof. The head of the family is known to and recognized by all; and the family is designated by his name with the prefix of *ngati*, applied in this case, as in those of larger aggregations. The first aggregation is under the chief, on whose land the families are settled, and the sub-tribe thus formed takes its name from the chief, and has almost invariably a common ancestor. Lastly comes the *ariki*, under

[1] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, pp. 20 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 21. This subject of the *vaka*, or canoe, will be returned to again in the discussion of the middle and lower classes of Rarotonga.

whom are many *ngati*[1]. Finally I refer to a statement by Moss which apparently deals, not only with Rarotonga, but with Mangaia also. He says that the authority of an *ariki* was not, and is not, territorial; it is claimed over all his people, whether in the district or beyond. As an example of this he quotes a recent case of the arrival in Rarotonga on a visit of 250 people from Mangaia, among whom was a Mangaian judge; and tells us that this judge, while in Rarotonga, held a court, and fined Mangaians, long resident in Rarotonga, for offences of drinking, concubinage, etc., and took the fines away with him for division among the police and judges of Mangaia[2].

Some of the history or traditions of Aitutaki point to beliefs which would be in accord with a system of social grouping. Starting with the story of Ru, we find that his descendants branched off, and populated the island. Then came the invader Te-erui, who fought the Ru inhabitants and exterminated the men, but spared the women; he then allotted the lands in districts to these women who evidently married—presumably they married his warriors—and had descendants, and these descendants became the legitimate owners of these districts, and remained so "to the present day." This means that the people of each district believed that they were descended from one of these women and her husband. Then again the warrior Maro-una, the descendant of Ruatapu, having defeated the Aitu intruders, divided out the land among his warriors, and procured wives for them from the Ru women who owned the lands given to them. These women would be, not the original Ru women, but their descendants; but still the subsequent lines of descent, through these women, of the inhabitants of the respective districts, would trace back to the original women.

MARQUESAS

There is very little to be said about the grouping of the people of the Marquesas. I draw attention to the statements as to dialectic differences, and in particular to what is said as to their presence in Nukuhiva. Apparently, there was a difference of this character between some groups of people to the west of Comptroller Bay on the one hand, and some groups on the east of it on the other; and according to a myth these two lots of people had been descended from two brothers. If

[1] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, pp. 23 *sq.* [2] *Ibid.* p. 22.

the linguistic difference was as marked as it is said to have been, we may well believe that these two lots of people had separate origins; and if the myth was widely recognized, we may think that the people themselves believed it. In that case we seem to have an example of coincident social and local grouping. In the island of Hivaoa also, we find a reference to separate lines of ancestry of the peoples of the two portions of the island, and the reputed origin of this seems to have been two brothers.

I have tried, by comparison of the material at my disposal, to trace out evidence pointing to some system of relationships between groups, or their rulers, but I have not been able to do this except in the case of the Teii tribes of Taio-Hae (Anna Maria) Bay, and even there the evidence is incomplete. I will repeat in parallel columns the names, as given by Vincendon-Dumoulin, of (1) the districts surrounding this bay, (2) their chiefs, and (3) the six tribes, placing the names in column (3) opposite those in column (1) where they appear to be the same.

Districts	Chiefs	Tribes
Akapehi	Paetini	
Ikohei	,,	Hikouah (Ikohei)
Havaou	Moana	Havou (Havaou)
Pakiou	Pakoko	Pakeu (Peka)
Onia	Niehitou	Howniah (Oaia)
Otomeaho	,,	
Peka	,,	Pakeu (Peka) [as above, repeated]
Paatea, Oata	Vavahenna	Hoatta (Oata)
Haotoupa, Meaho	Niehitou	Maouh (Meaho)[1]

It will be noticed that there are two districts which are not, apparently, identified by Vincendon-Dumoulin with any tribes; but this is a detail, a possible explanation of which is that they were really only sub-districts.

Moana (a mere boy in Vincendon-Dumoulin's time) was not only the chief of Havaou. He was the king of the whole bay of Taio-Hae[2]. Paetini was Moana's aunt[3] or his cousin[4]; Pakoko was related to him[5]; and Niehitou was his uncle and

[1] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* pp. 193 *sq.*, 184.

[2] Coulter, p. 243. D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. I, pp. 479, 500. Stewart, vol. I, p. 279. Mathias, *A.P.F.* vol. XV, p. 370. Belcher, vol. I, p. 356. Radiguet, vol. XXII, p. 460.

[3] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* pp. 193 *sq.*

[4] D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, pp. 16, 29.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 29.

adopted father[1]. So all the chiefs of the districts of the bay, except Vavahenna, whom I have not been able to identify, were close relatives of the king. The political system, so far at all events as the heads of the tribes were concerned, was that of a family circle; and this is, to this extent, coincident social and local grouping. There is reasonable ground for suspecting that it was so in other parts of the island, more especially as this would be in accord with what was, I think, a widespread Polynesian system, though I have not been able to find the detailed evidence necessary to prove it and we cannot guess at the extent to which it prevailed. Tautain says that the Marquesan term for a tribe was *ati*, which was identical with the *ngati* of New Zealand[2]; so my comment on the use of the latter word in Rarotonga applies to the Marquesas also.

I may also point out that, according to Mathias, though the chief of each district was independent in his own domain (as he seems to have been as regarded purely internal affairs in other parts of Polynesia) relationship between him and the chiefs of other districts arose in connection with national feasts and in time of war; that the chief of one of these districts might become the head of all of them in consequence of—among other things—some religious dignity; and that in time of war and in the great councils of the tribe the power of the chief depended more or less upon the titles he possessed. The importance of the question of titles, with which may also perhaps be associated that of religious dignity, as an element qualifying a chief of a district to control, more or less, the chiefs of the other districts of the tribe is highly suggestive of some family relationship between the chiefs of the districts; the reference to "national" feasts also tends to point in the same direction, and *permanent* co-operation in war would be consistent with social relationship.

I have no material showing whether or not, or to what extent, the inhabitants of a district were related to its chief; but, going a stage lower down, we have statements by La Rochefoucald-Liancourt that the same houses often contained fathers and married children[3] and by Quiros that it appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed places[4].

[1] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 194. Radiguet says he was Moana's uncle and tutor (vol. XXII, p. 463).

[2] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, p. 670 *note* 2.

[3] La Rochefoucald-Liancourt, vol. III, p. 22.

[4] Quiros, vol. I, p. 27.

My comments upon the frequent divisions of groups of people in the Society Islands into eight sub-groups, may be made here again with reference to the Nukuhivan divisions into three or six.

PAUMOTU

I draw attention, as regards the Paumotuan islands, to the Mangarevan tradition as to the division by Anua Motua among the members of his family of certain other islands, and of parts of Mangareva; but there is no material with which to associate with this the actual grouping of more recent times. There was a statement as to the division of the island of Fakahina into three distinct districts, peopled respectively by three families.

There is no historical information on which to discuss the actual grouping in the Paumotuan Islands; but I will refer to one or two statements which touch it. Cuzent says little is known of the ancient social constitution of the Gambier [Mangareva] people, though it was said to have been aristocratic. The king was the first of all the chiefs, and the latter and the members of their families, constituting the aristocracy, were united by ties of relationship with him[1]. Montiton says the Paumotuans lived scattered about on the shores of their islands, but were grouped in families[2]. Caillot tells us that there were usually two or three villages in the same district, but the inhabitants of these were few in number and formed one or two families whose principal members were chiefs or judges[3]. I refer to the fact that the word *ngati* which I have discussed, meant in the Paumotu, according to Tregear's dictionary, a tribe or colony, a race or breed, and this term would probably be applied to the people of the districts or villages. Audran gives the names of four principal districts in the island of Napuka, and each of them begins with the prefix *ngati*[4].

FIJI

Fison's account of the social and political structure in the Fijian district of Bau, and Young's explanation of the system found in Lakemba, can, I think, be compared with confidence, so far as their terminology is concerned, on the assumption

[1] Cuzent, *V.I.G.* p. 119.
[2] Montiton, vol. VI, p. 502.
[3] *Ann. hydro.* vol. XXI, p. 177.
[4] Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 132.

that Young's "tribe" is the same as Fison's "community," and that Young's "village" is the same as Fison's *koro*, which he also calls a village; more especially as each of them uses the term *mataqali* to designate a section of a village. I shall adopt Fison's terminology in considering the matter. My method will be to take the various groups and sub-groups seriatim, and consider whether its members were connected, first locally, and then socially.

The "community." I think both writers mean us to understand by this a group of people occupying, substantially at all events, the same district. There is no statement that there was any social relationship between the people of the several *koro* of a community.

The koro. The use by both writers of the word "village" shows that the meaning, or one of the meanings, of the term *koro* was a group of people living together locally. I see from Pratt's dictionary that in Samoa *'olo* means a fortress, and from Baker's dictionary that in Tonga *kolo* means a fortress or town[1]. The *mataqali* was a "section of the people" of the *koro*; but Fison does not say whether he means by this a social section of a socially related *koro*, or merely some people occupying locally a portion of the area of the *koro*. Young's reference to the division of a *koro* into families is not very clear; but I think he means that the families—that is the *mataqali*—of a *koro* were branches of the same larger family, the chief's branch being the first of these. If this is so we have social relationship between the *mataqali* of a *koro*.

The mataqali. I think Fison uses the term "quarters" with the conventional local meaning of residential areas; otherwise his use of the term would be hardly consistent with his explanation that the number might be greater or less than four, and his reference to a division in some parts of Fiji into two sections, separated by a ditch, suggests the same thing. If this is so, it follows that the *mataqali* was grouped together locally. Both writers point to its being a social group; this is shown by Fison's reference to the common descent of the members of a *mataqali*, and by his statement that the people of each of the several *yavusa* were descendants of one of a band of brothers, the descendants of all of whom formed the *mataqali*, and by Young's description of a *mataqali* as being a family.

[1] The *k* is wanting in Samoa, and *l* is substituted for *r* in both Samoa and Tonga.

The yavusa. Fison does not say whether or not the members of a *yavusa* lived locally together; but social grouping is indicated by their descent from one or other of the ancestral brothers.

The vuvale. The members of a *vuvale* lived in the same or adjoining houses, so their grouping was local; and as they were brothers with their families, forming a subdivision of a *yavusa*, they were also social groups.

The detailed evidence referred to above is not complete so far as the question of social and local grouping is concerned; but I will add a few more words on the matter. Fison compares the *koro* to a cable, the *mataqali* being the ropes forming it, the *yavusa* the strands of the rope, the *vuvale* the yarns of the strand, and the individuals the fibres of the yarn[1]; and as he explains, as we have seen, that the intertwisting, as between the members of a *mataqali*, was that involved by a common descent, I imagine that he intends this interpretation of the metaphor to apply to the whole system. Then, again, the system, as described by Young, of division of the community into villages or *koro*, each with its chief, of which one village was the *koro-turanga*, or chief village, the leading family of which was that of the *turanga-levu* or great chief whose rule extended, not only over his own *koro*, but over all the *koro* of the community, is so strikingly like that of Samoa which we have investigated in detail, that we may well believe that the social organization of Samoa, if we deem it to have been such, prevailed in Lakemba also, and very likely at Bau and other districts where there were Polynesian elements. Fison refers to the presence of "certain individuals" who were incorporated in a *mataqali* but were not full members of it; also to the way in which *mataqali* ran into one another so that it was not always easy at first sight to distinguish one from the other[2]. The latter statement represents a condition of intermixture found in Polynesia, and which I have discussed. The former may refer to relationship by adoption. Then there is Fison's reference, which I have already quoted, to *koro* that belonged to a community, but were not of it, and which were, I gather, in the main, fugitives from other tribes, or war captives. We may compare the evidence as to those people with what von Bülow and Schultz have told us with reference to Samoa, and may, I think, regard the matter as merely incidental, and as not affecting the general main system of grouping.

[1] Fison, *J.A.I.* vol. x, p. 335. [2] *Ibid.*

NIUE

Niue had, as we have seen, two main groups of people, the Motu in the north and the Tafiti in the south, and it is said that these two groups had been so named from very ancient times, and had been constant enemies from time immemorial. These factors would be consistent with a belief that there was in the island a broad system of coincident local and social grouping, provided we can show a social differentiation between the two groups. On this point I refer to what has already been said about them, and to the suggestion that the Motu people were the earlier inhabitants and the Tafiti were, later, immigrants from Fiji. It is true that, according to Smith, the two groups of people had become so mixed that, though the distinctive names were still current, they could not be distinguished; but here, as in the cases of other islands, I refer to the social consequences of intermarriages and adoptions, and suggest that this intermixture is not inconsistent with the fact that the two social groups, if such they were, were regarded as still occupying their own respective portions of the island.

I have referred, in connection with Rarotonga, to the use of the terms *ngati* and *hapu*, and have discussed them; and Smith introduces a similar question in connection with Niue. He says the Maori words *ngati-*, *ngai-* and *ati-*, used as prefixes to tribal names, meaning the "descendants of," are not known to the Niue people; nor do they know the New Zealand name for sub-tribe, *hapu*, or a tribe, *iwi*. The Niue word corresponding to the Maori *ngati* is *ohi*, which is also an old Maori word equivalent to *ai*, and having the same meaning as the Niue word. He thinks the equivalent in Niue of the Maori *hapu* is either *tama*[1] or *fangai* and exemplifies the former by giving the names, each beginning with *tama*, of several groups of people, more or less related [that is, the people of each group], and adds that "these names seem now to be applied indifferently to these people, or to the places where they live." The *fangai*, equivalent of the Maori *whangai*, "to feed," is also a collection of relatives, though persons stranger in blood are sometimes admitted into it. It seems, he says, probable that the word originated from the fact of the members of a family "feeding" (*fangai*) together, a more extended meaning having been given as the numbers

[1] The common Polynesian meaning of this word is a child or boy.

of the family increased. He refers to a modern statement of the offerings made to the church in Niue, in which each amount is stated opposite the *fangai* who gave it, of which there were 170, and among which are included several with the prefix *tama*. He thinks, however, that it is possible that some of the names given are those of places that are not identical with the *fangai* considered as a family group of related persons[1].

I have, in connection with this matter, referred to Tregear's dictionary and to a Niuean vocabulary provided by Williams[2]. The word *fangai* is used, with the meaning given above, pretty generally in Polynesia, including Niue. The term *ai* appears in the dictionary as meaning in New Zealand "to lie with a female, to procreate or beget"; in Tahiti "to copulate"; and in Hawai'i "to have sexual intercourse"; and Tregear compares it with the Samoan *ainga* "a family, a relative." I do not find the New Zealand words *hapu* and *ai*, or the Niue word *ohi* in the Niuean vocabulary; but I do find the term *hapai*, meaning "to lift up in the arms, to bring up a child." I think that when we find these terms, including *ngati* and its equivalents, or one of them, used to designate a group of people, large or small, we are justified in suspecting that they involved the underlying idea of social relationship, even though that idea may in some cases have been lost. Smith's suggestion that in Niue the terms *tama* and *fangai* were used both for the groups of people and the places where they lived is in accord with what we should expect; it would be consistent with coincident social and local grouping; his admission that people included under the term *fangai* might include a few strangers in blood would be explained by matrimonial and adoption customs; and I do not think we need be disturbed by his doubt as to the identity of some of the *tama* mentioned in the subscription list with what were then considered as family groups.

The evidence on the subject of grouping in Niue is small and fragmentary; but it suggests a probable original geographical separation, more or less continued, of two main social groups, and there are terminological grounds for suspecting a general recognition of the family element in the minor groups.

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. xi, p. 168.
[2] Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. ii, pp. 17–24, 65–70.

ROTUMA

In Rotuma the *hoang* was a small or large family group living in its own hamlet or village, and having its family name and its *pure* or head. To this extent we have coincident social and local grouping. There were also districts, each comprising a number of these villages, each having its *ngangaja* or chief, always a member of the same family; and the affairs of the district were conducted by a council of the *ngangaja* and the *pure* of the families. Gardiner says that usually the chief of a district "had the name"[1], by which he probably means the name of the group, composed of several *hoang*, occupying the district. I think we may almost assume from this that the relationship between the several *hoang* in a district was usually social, they forming a larger combined social group, and possessing a group name. If so, the grouping of a district also was both social and local.

UVEA

In Uvea or Wallis Island there were three specific groups of people occupying three separate portions of the island; but the question is whether the tie between the members of each of those groups was social, or merely local. If the remarkable identity of the names of the three districts of these groups with those of Tongatabu, and the probable similarity in certain respects of their relative positions, is due to some special relationship with the three families of Tongatabu, then we may well believe that in Uvea, as in Tongatabu, they were three social groups; but this relationship cannot be demonstrated. These three Uvean groups are, however, spoken of as "families" by the French missionaries, Bourdin, Graeffe and Mangeret; so, unless we are to believe that all these writers used the term loosely and inaccurately, each was a social group.

ELLICE ISLANDS

We have seen Hedley's reference to the segregation of the Ellice Islanders "ethnologically" into groups; but his reasons for this reference are too scanty to justify us in assuming that there was social grouping, and we know nothing of the grouping in the separate islands. Mrs David says that a hut consisted of

[1] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 429.

one individual room, and was sometimes inhabited by two or three families[1]; so, if, as is probable, these families were a consanguine family, we get coincident local and social grouping to this extent.

EASTER ISLAND

In Easter Island there evidently was, or had been, a separation of some sort between the people of the western and eastern parts of the island; there was a local grouping, but there is no evidence, actual or traditional, pointing to a social origin of that grouping. The division of the island into districts, on the other hand, is, as regards some of them, fairly in accord with Thomson's version of the tradition as to the division by Hotu-matua among his sons; and if this tradition may be regarded as an indication of a general belief in the island that the people of the several districts were derived from different families of descendants of the original common ancestor, then we are at liberty to suspect that these groups of people were social groups, each occupying its own local territory. The discrepancies between this version of the tradition and the subsequent arrangement of the districts may be due in part to inaccuracies in the version, and in part to changes that had taken place, and in particular to the evolution of sub-groups which had so grown in size and importance as to have become regarded as groups, each occupying its own territory.

These groups, as now recognized—Mrs Routledge's "clans" —were, she tells me in one of her letters, family groups, and not territorial units. Two or three of them often lived in one locality, but did not blend; on the other hand, members of one group not infrequently settled in the territory of others, perhaps through marriage connections or as captives, but they always retained their own group. Little groups cropped up in what she calls unexpected places, as an example of which she refers to reports of Hitiuira people at Mataveri and Vinapu. Referring to the tradition concerning Hotu-matua, she says each group claimed descent from a common ancestor, the ancestors being generally identified as sons, sometimes as grandsons of Hotu-matua. The clans Hamea and Raa were stated by one authority to be brothers, and not connected with Hotu-matua. The idea of a common ancestor was, however, always present.

Most of the groups were divided into sub-groups, and Mrs

[1] Mrs David, p. 194.

Routledge has told me something about these. She says they were smaller family units arising within the larger family unit, and again subdividing; and that the process can be traced, not only in tradition, but in what appear to be comparatively recent times. "The little clans were the children of the big ones." Mrs Routledge has supplied me with lists of these sub-groups, but the only one of these that I need reproduce is that of the Miru, as to which she gives some further information. The sub-groups of this group were: (1) Ongo, (2) Mataiva, (3) Rauwai, (4) Kao, (5) Toko-te-rangi, (6) Maari, (7) Ko-era, (8) Hahai, (9) Matapu, (10) Moa-tahu, (11) Kae-huharu, (12) Ure-te-Niu and (13) Tuukoihii[1].

Mrs Routledge commenced a tabulated statement showing the geographical distribution of the sub-groups; but unfortunately had, owing to lack of time, to abandon it before she had done very much. She, however, completed it as regards the greater part of the Miru group. I am not sure that I understand her hurriedly sketched partial statement correctly, more especially as in some places she has apparently crossed things off, though I am not certain that this is so. She commences the statement at Vai-toa, the eastern extremity of the Miru area on the north coast, and takes it westward along that coast, and then southward down the west coast to a point somewhere between Ahu Tepeu and Tahai. If I am correct in my belief that certain parts of the statement are struck out, the consequence would be that it is not complete even for the area it covers—that is, there are blank spaces scattered along the coast whose sub-group inhabitants she has not been able to identify. I will, however, give her information as I understand it.

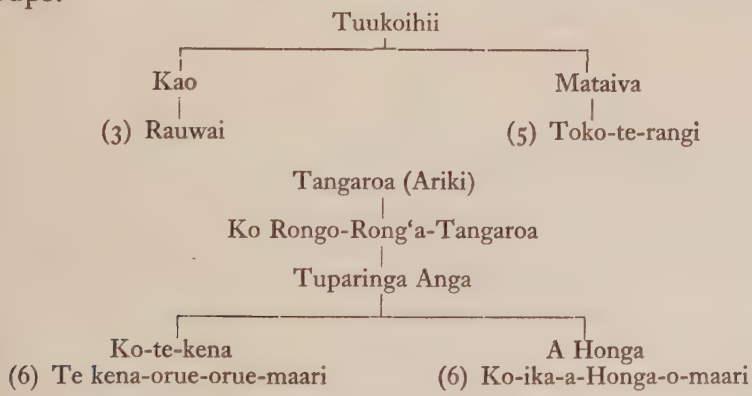
The sub-group at Vai-toa was Maari, and somewhere between Vai-toa and Anakena there was an Ongo-Kao mixture. In the neighbourhood of Anakena she shows an Ongo-Kao-Niu mixture, followed (further west) by a Kao-Niu mixture; but these two seem to be struck off. Then follows (further west) an Ongo area, followed by a Niu area, which was again followed by a Kao area, this last being apparently somewhat extensive. Next after this comes a Rauwai-Tokoterangi mixture, followed by a Rauwai group. We have now reached Ahu Tepeu, where there was a Mataiva-Kao mixture; and after this followed in

[1] I am not sure that I have read correctly Mrs Routledge's spelling of all these names.

succession, groups first of Mataiva, then of Tokoterangi, next of Koera, and finally of Hahai; and at this point the information stops.

It will be noticed that the names of four of her sub-groups —Matapu, Moa-tahu, Kae-huharu and Tuukoihii do not appear in these particulars; it may be that their habitats were all in the extreme southern part of the Miru group on the western shore, or perhaps the explanation is that the particulars are not complete, there being places on the coast line of the district whose habitants Mrs Routledge has not been able to identify. The particulars do not appear to disclose a mere haphazard intermixture of sub-groups. The Maari seem to have been confined to their own district; then there has apparently been a length of coast occupied by the Ongo, Kao and Niu (mixed or separate); then we come to the Rauwai, Mataiva, and Toko-te-rangi (mixed or separate); and finally to two unmixed sub-groups, the Koera and Hahai. I do not know what was the character of the mixing in these cases, but very possibly the bulk of it arose through intermarriages, in which case the fact of the mixings of sub-groups would not necessarily be antagonistic to suggestions that their grouping was in the main social and local coincidently.

Mrs Routledge has also supplied me with the following two illustrative genealogies of the founders of three of the sub-groups.



All the names in the first genealogy are those of sub-groups, and if, as I imagine, they are names of persons, those persons would presumably be the heads—the bearers of the family names—of the sub-groups. In any case the genealogy shows

how sub-groups might be descended from—that is offshoots of—others. In the second genealogy, as Tangaroa is called *ariki*, I think we must believe that he was the head chief or king of the Miru group; this list concludes apparently with two chiefs of the Maari group, thus showing how the sub-grouping might be continued downwards.

As regards the whole matter, I think we must accept Mrs Routledge's statements, according to which the grouping and sub-grouping of the people of Easter Island were primarily social in character, and believe that social and local grouping were to a considerable extent coincident.

TIKOPIA

There is some contradiction or confusion in the information given to Rivers as to the divisions of the people of the island of Tikopia. I have, however, drawn attention to the fact that apparently there were in d'Urville's time four principal groups of people, and that Rivers was told of these same four groups perhaps three-quarters of a century later. These must have been important groups; but we have no information as to any traditions of their respective origins; and in Rivers's time they seem, according to one informant, to have occupied separate districts, whilst, according to another, they were much mixed. There seems therefore to be no material upon which we can discuss the question of social and local grouping.

OBSERVATIONS

I wish, as regards the question of social and local grouping, to draw attention to the Samoan evidence. We have from this group, not merely general statements by writers, but a great quantity of detailed information, provided by Krämer, which enables us to track out a number of well-known families, to discover, as regards each of them, its several homes, and to find out, in a number of cases, how the family came, or may very likely have come, to live in these homes. In cases where, apparently, a number of different families were congregated more or less together in a way which at first glance seems to disclose purely local grouping, we are able to show that this grouping had a social origin, or at all events to refer to evidence that makes this probable or possible. I have no doubt that I could by further investigation have enlarged this detailed evi-

dence considerably by tracing out the histories of other families; but this would have involved much lengthening of the book, and it seemed hardly necessary. We have also been able to trace the circumstances under which, in certain cases, the leading control of the affairs of an area occupied by a social group, and the control of the title of the head of that group, rested with persons, some of whom lived outside that area, and to find explanations of this which seem to point strongly to a fundamental system of social grouping.

No other group of islands offers us material comparable with this. We have from them evidence, in some cases fairly strong, but in others insufficient, pointing to the grouping of the people on a basis mainly of a social character; but we may wonder what would have been the effect of that evidence if writers from these other groups had given us material such as Krämer has given for Samoa. I think—and this is my reason for these comments—that we are, in considering the custom of grouping in Polynesia generally, justified in being influenced by what we know of Samoa, and in thinking that the grouping was probably fundamentally social in other islands also, even in cases in which the evidence actually available is insufficient.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL AND LOCAL GROUPING

THE *MARAE* AS A SOCIAL CENTRE

THE consideration of the *marae* of Polynesia does not come within the scope of this book. It is impossible to state exactly and fully in a few sentences what they were, or the purposes for which they were used, and it must be understood that the following explanation, merely intended as an introduction to the subject now to be considered, is only very wide and general. Broadly speaking, the *marae* were sacred structures, in the formation of which stones were as a rule used largely, specially associated with the gods or with the spirits of the dead, where religious rites and ceremonies were performed, in or near some of which the bodies of the dead were exposed, or the bodies or parts of the remains were interred, and in or near which councils were held. In some islands the *marae* or *malae* was merely an open space, used, along with a special wooden house erected in it, for certain official and public purposes and ceremonies, and sometimes, apparently, for religious purposes, the interior of the house alone being used for some of these, and the house and the open space around it being used for the larger gatherings of people.

The subject matter of this chapter is the close association, in some at all events of the islands, between a *marae* and a family or other social group, the *marae* belonging to the head of the group, and only members of the group being admitted into its sacred precincts. In this way the *marae* became what I have called a social centre, by which I mean the religious, ceremonial, and, in a way perhaps, secular central object that formed the visible sign and record of recognition of title and social relationship—a sort of family title deed; and we shall see how the family connection was kept on record when members of the group, becoming heads of sub-groups, and perhaps leaving the central home of the parent group, erected *marae* for themselves, the visible connecting link between the parent *marae*

and the new one being the use of a stone from the former for the founding of the latter.

It seems natural that a party of migrants—perhaps voyagers or castaways—arriving at a strange island, and settling there, should construct a *marae* in which to engage in their religious rites and ceremonies; and such a *marae*, if not founded with a stone from another *marae* in their distant home (we do not know how far back the custom of doing this had prevailed) would be an original or parent *marae*, and would in any case be so, so far as that group of people in that island was concerned. This *marae* would presumably be associated specially with the head chief of the group, as their high priest, but it would be the property of the group as such. Then in course of time the group would expand, and branch groups would be formed, and the latter, with their official heads, would wish to have their own *marae*. Recognizing the great sanctity of the original *marae*, associated as it would be with the tutelar god of the entire group, and perhaps recognizing the *mana* that would be in its stones, it would be a natural thing for them to use a stone from the old *marae* to infect with its sanctity the new one; and the custom of transferring stones in the way referred to may have had its origin in ideas of this character.

It is, I imagine, in some such way as this that we must contemplate the probable origin of the Polynesian *marae*. There were in some of the islands certain *marae* still standing and used as such, the very great antiquity of which was the basis of the special sanctity that was attributed to them. Some of these may have been what I have called original *marae*, or some or all of them may have been offshoots of still older *marae*, which had disappeared, leaving no traditions behind them. However this may be, we know that when white men reached the Pacific islands there were in some of them an enormous number of *marae*, great and small; and the parental relationship of a number of these *marae* to their offshoot *marae* was well known. It will be seen therefore that the *marae* would become standing evidence of family relationship and family rank. A chief's claim to rank of blood would be vindicated by his possession, as head of a social group, of the *marae* of that group, or, if he was not head of the group, his right of entering into it; the height of his rank would be based upon that of the group that owned the *marae*, and this again would depend, in the case of an offshoot *marae*, upon the rank of the larger parent

group, from whose *marae* the other *marae* was derived. I have presupposed a special association of an original *marae* with the head chief of the group to which it belonged, as its high priest. This idea might well develop into a system under which his ownership of the *marae* was recognized; but this ownership would only be official, on behalf of the group of which he was the head, and indeed this was, I think, the way in which it was commonly regarded, just as was regarded his ownership of the land belonging to the group. The question of the priestly character of the office of a chief or other head of a social group will be considered in a later chapter.

There were traditions pointing to the construction of what were evidently, at all events locally, original *marae*. I have already told the stories concerning Karika and Tangiia, the founders of the two great royal families of Rarotonga. It was said of Karika that on the occasion of his first visit to Rarotonga he made a circuit of the island and built the *marae* at Avarua and Araitetonga[1]. Avarua was afterwards, as we have seen, the central home of the Karika group, and Araitetonga was within a couple of miles of it; and I gather that the *marae* thus attributed to Karika were the actual *marae* which, or the remains of which, were to be seen in modern times. So on a subsequent visit, prior to his final settlement of the island, Karika built a *marae* in another part of it[2]. It will be seen how, assuming the connection between *marae* and social groups referred to above, a chief, the owner of a *marae*, would be able, by reason of the fact that his *marae* was an offset of a Karika *marae*, or of another *marae*, which was itself the offset of a Karika *marae*, to establish his descent from Karika—or at least from the original Karika family. We have also seen that, according to traditions of the island of Aitutaki, Ru, regarded as the first person to reach the island, upon landing at once erected two *marae*; the later Te-erui also erected *marae* there when he and his people took possession and settled down. Then again, according to tradition, the great voyager Tu-te-rangiatea, on arrival apparently at Ra'iatea, erected there, as we have seen, a great *marae*, which may or may not, as Smith thinks, have been the well-known *marae* of Oro at Opoa, which was apparently the parent or grandparent of other important *marae* in the Society Islands. According to another story, the Opoa *marae* was

[1] Nicholas, *J.P.S.* vol. 1, p. 70.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 71.

founded by the deified Hiro, the first king there[1]—one of the most celebrated of the Pacific voyagers of Polynesian traditions. All these examples point, of course, to ancient traditions only, this being inevitable as regards the very old *marae*; but we may, I think, take it that the traditions would be in accord with recognized Polynesian customs. I could, no doubt, find more examples of the same thing by further research—indeed I know of some others[2]—but I think those given above are sufficient to illustrate that to which I refer; and it will be recognized that these original *marae* might well become the commencing title deeds of titular families claiming the highest aristocracy of ancient descent.

Other original *marae*, as I may call them—that is, *marae* that were not, so far as we know, offshoots from older *marae*—seem to have been built from time to time by chiefs who, and whose ancestors, had long been resident in their home, and who already possessed *marae*, the great *marae* at Papara, built by Amo and Purea for their son Teri'irere, being, I think, an example of this; but I do not think this is a question which I need investigate here.

The bulk of the evidence on the whole subject comes from the Society Islands, so I will refer to this first; beginning with some general statements, which, though they deal with various matters, will be better followed if introduced, each as a whole, instead of being cut up and referred to in separate sections. I may point out that the bearing which I think the evidence has upon the question of social and local grouping is this. Groups of people, gathered together in certain localities, had their *marae*, used for rites and religious observances and perhaps other matters affecting the groups—that is, each group had its own *marae*. The question I ask is, what was the qualification required for having right of entry into the *marae*, and perhaps taking part in the ceremonies, and in proceedings affecting the affairs of the group, performed or taking place in or near the *marae*? Was it residential or one of kinship? The evidence will show that it was kinship, and I think that this points to a system of social grouping.

De Bovis says that the princes, the chiefs and the petty

[1] De Bovis, p. 236. There were, as we have seen, traditions of an original association of this *marae* with Tangaroa, and not Oro; but this does not affect our present subject.

[2] Fiji provides a traditional example in the case of some fugitives from another land, who on arriving in Fiji proceeded to build a *nanga* (Fison, *J.A.I.* vol. XIV, p. 17).

chiefs all had their family *marae*, to which they attached nearly the same importance as the seigneurs of former days did to the *château-fort* whose name they bore. Families without a *marae* went on high days and holidays to the nearest *marae*, into the enclosure of which they never penetrated[1]. De Bovis is speaking of a royal *marae* when he says it was a sort of family property, and the king often commanded there by right of his being the head of the race. When he was absent, his brother or his son, or any other near relation, took his place, and the most distant members of the family were accustomed to speak of "our *marae*." A brother, say, of a reigning prince, might travel far away, and become chief or king in another district or another island, but he also would speak of "our *marae*," and would visit it to pay his devotions whenever he could; and he would be greatly distressed if he was unable to be there on the occasion of certain solemnities. In case of his death he would bequeath to his son the right to sit in this *marae* beside the reigning king, and almost on a footing of equality. Two or three families, in other islands, or other parts of the same island, might have equal rights in the *marae*, and would go there religiously at certain periods; and sometimes there would be a great concourse of people, often coming from scattered different islands, at the *marae* meeting there, and keeping up their common origin. If these princes, of common origin, were at war with one another, hostilities would be suspended on certain days, and the enemies would meet in this same *marae*, without any fear of one of them profiting by the circumstance. So also a canoe landing at the *marae* was respected; and even if it was met by superior forces in the open sea, it would be allowed to continue its course, on proof that it was going there[2]. In describing certain great *marae*, de Bovis says there were in them a special compartment for the proprietary prince, and a special place for the priests, and the rest of the large enclosure was occupied by the prince's male relations[3]; and again (referring to a specific *marae*), he speaks of families having, according to their rank, reserved places in little walled compartments in the *marae*[4]. He is speaking of *marae* generally when he says the chief was descended in a direct line from the deity; thus the *marae* where this deity was worshipped belonged to him, and he always occupied the place of honour

[1] De Bovis, p. 278.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 290 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 277.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 291.

there[1]. He refers elsewhere to the master of the *marae*, in whose name every ceremony was performed[2]; and to the royal *marae*, inseparable from power[3]. He tells us that, when a *marae* was really royal and famous, there were usually round about it several secondary *marae*, belonging to princes or chiefs of inferior rank, and that what was being done in the great *marae* was imitated there simultaneously, and with great exactitude[4]. If, as I imagine would usually be the case, the owners of the secondary *marae* were kinsmen of the owner of the principal *marae*, this close imitation of ritual is interesting.

Baessler says that every *ari'i* (chief) had to be able to name four things as his own—a *moua* (mountain), an *outu* (point of land), a *tahua* (assembly place), and a *marae*; and by doing this he proved himself to be an *ari'i*. The most important of these was the *marae*, and the age of the *marae* determined the rank which its chief held. The number of the *marae* was very large. Each chief, high or low, each family, had its own, but there were only about twelve in Tahiti which were connected with authority, power, and landed property, all the rest having branched off from these[5]. As regards the reference to these twelve *marae*, I am not sure what he means by authority, etc.; every holder of a *marae* would have authority over his own group, as its official head, and I can hardly believe that even in 1900, when Baessler wrote, there were only twelve land-owning families in Tahiti possessing *marae*. Probably he is referring only to the very great chiefs, the owners of the principal *marae*. He says it was a matter of little importance to which god the *marae* was dedicated; even the right to human victims had no influence on its rank, this being determined only by its age and by the family which its ancestor tables represented. The social significance of a *marae* lay in its character as representing a family [*? Geschlecht*]; and the social position of a man depended on the *marae* inside which he possessed a stone for a seat. In founding a *marae* the builder transplanted this stone of his to the new *marae*, thus making known the connection with the old *marae*, as well as the new one's dependence on it. In the *marae* there was a row of stones which indicated the seats of the families belonging to it, and were most important, as they formed, as it were, the ancestral

[1] *Ibid.* p. 236. [2] *Ibid.* p. 279. [3] *Ibid.* p. 246.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 288 *sq.* [5] Baessler, *N.S.B.* p. 119.

tables of these people. The name of the *marae* was added only by the head of the family to his own. The head of a *Geschlecht* had a right to the names of all the *marae* of his *Stamm*. Certain rights were connected with each of these titles, as was also the case with each seat in the *marae*[1]. I believe that both *Geschlecht* and *Stamm* might be translated into "family," but am told that the former word is generally used to represent a group somewhat larger than that implied by the latter, and it seems to be with these distinctive meanings that Baessler uses the terms. I gather that the *Geschlecht* would be a group, and the *Stamm* a sub-group. I think Baessler's reference to the right to the names of all the *marae* means that the head of a social group with his principal *marae* had the right to be regarded as the head also of the dependent related *marae*. Baessler says that if any one wandered away to another place, he attached himself to his *fetii* (relations) there, and received in their *marae* the place to which he could lay claim from his *marae*. If his *marae* was one of high standing, he became, on assuming a new name, chief of the *marae* of his *fetii*. On the other hand, he could be chief in his home district without being one in the new district[2]. The exact meaning of this statement is not clear; but I will refer again to this matter later on. Baessler says if anyone had gone away, and been absent for a very long time, descendants coming back at any time could again assume the rank which their ancestor had possessed immediately on proving their right to a seat in the *marae*. With their rank they also received all the rights and the property belonging to them. If the proof failed they were killed as deceivers, and in order to protect themselves from this, each family kept its genealogy strictly secret[3]. The head of a *marae* was not the high priest, but the *ari'i* (chief); and it was to him, and not to the priest, that it lent power and authority. Even if he was conquered in war, and had lost power as a refugee, his importance as chief of the *marae* remained unweakened; wherever he went he was received as such, according to his rank. It was the same with everyone else; in whatever position he might find himself, he could never lose his social position, which was maintained for him by his seat in the *marae*[4]. As regards the fate of an intruder into a *marae*, Baessler tells a story of a man, whose two sons had been killed by a great chief, and their bodies sent to a

[1] Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 119 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 125 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 120.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 129 *sq.*

marae, and who went there and entered the *marae*, whereupon he was killed[1].

Ari'i Taimai supplies information so nearly identical in parts with that given by Baessler, that I can only think he must have obtained his information from her son Tati Salmon, from whom he admittedly got much material. In view, however, of the fact that each writer tells us something which the other does not—at all events in quite the same way—and that there are one or two actual differences between them, and of the special trustworthiness of statements made by this Tahitian princess, I will give her information in full. She says that in Tahiti every chief, great or small, had a *marae* or temple, a *tahua* or dancing place [Baessler calls it an assembly place—probably it was both], a *moua* or mount, and an *outu* or point [that is, as Baessler puts it, a point of land]. The old and important *marae*, of which the rest were mostly branches, numbered only about a dozen; and these were the record of rank and the title of property throughout the island [this agrees with my view of the meaning of Baessler's statement]. The *marae* was a walled enclosure, with an altar sacred to some god; but it represented, more than anything else, the family. The god was a secondary affair, and even the right to human sacrifices had little to do with the rank of the *marae*. To the Tahitians, the family and its antiquity alone were seriously interesting. An aristocratic society, their religious arrangements were rigorously aristocratic and a man's social position depended upon his having a stone to sit upon within the *marae* enclosure. This was the reason why the chief of Raiatea in 1774 asked Cook the name of his *marae*; for a man without a *marae* could be no chief, and Cook was regarded as a great chief; so he gave the name of his London parish[2]. Ari'i *Taimai* further says that the chosen head of a family had the right to all the *marae* [meaning all those of his family], and that with each of the names and seats in the *marae* went the lands attached to the title and the rights attached to the whole[3]. Then again, she says that, thanks to the *marae*, the social ranks of chiefs in the South Seas were so well known, or so easily learnt, that few serious mistakes could be possible; genealogy grew into a science, and swallowed up history, and made law a field of its own. Chiefs might wander off to far distant islands, and be lost for generations; but if the

[1] Baessler, *Globus*, vol. LXXIII, p. 391.
[2] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 14 *sq.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 16.

descendant of one of them came back, and if he could prove his right to a seat in a family *marae*, he was admitted to all the privileges and property which belonged to him by inheritance. On the other hand, if he failed in his proof, and turned out to be an impostor, he was put to death without mercy. Relationships were asserted and contested with the seriousness of legal titles, and were often matters of life and death. Every family kept its genealogy secret, to protect itself from impostors, and every member of the family united to keep it pure[1]; indeed one of the reasons for infanticide was the danger that children of chiefs by low-born women should come into family successions[2]. She also refers to the right of a man to take a stone from his own *marae*, and with it found another[3].

I have confined myself so far to broad, general statements on the whole matter; I now propose to refer to incidental statements relating to specific points, and to give actual examples of the operation of some of the customs with which we are dealing. I will start with the ownership of the *marae*. Bligh says that burial places remained with the head of the family[4]; and Cook says they went with the estate to the next heir, and were called by his name[5]. Forster says the *marae* generally bore the name of some living chief, and gives examples of such *marae*[6]. Tyerman and Bennet refer to a *marae* which had come to its owner by inheritance[7]. The *Duff* missionaries refer to the practice for the owner of the "principal house" to set up an image and worship in the *marae*, and that other houses in his department claimed the same privilege[8]. Andia y Varela says the *marae* belonged to the kings[9]. The *marae* which Amo and Purea built for their son was regarded as being his *marae*. The occasion of this was the installation of the son, and it would be the same as regards the Huahine *marae*, which Tyerman and Bennet were told had been built on the occasion of the making of an *ari'i*[10]. Ari'i Taimai tells us of two Eimeo under-chiefs who built a *marae*, and obtained the consent of a great chief of another district to be their over-lord. The mounting of their *marae* by that chief made it and them sacred to himself; he became in fact the head of their family and

[1] Ari'i Taimai, p. 17.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 37. Cf. Tyerman, vol. I, p. 196; Parkinson (2), p. 47.
[3] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 14, 16, 86. [4] Bligh, p. 102. [5] Cook, vol. III, pp. 344 *sq.*
[6] Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, pp. 138 *sq.*, vol. I, pp. 267, 324.
[7] Vol. I, pp. 245 *sq.* [8] Wilson, p. 184.
[9] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 260. [10] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 242.

master of their power, in addition to his headship in his own district[1]. I do not doubt that this great chief was a relative of superior rank to the other two. I have referred to the tradition as to the drifting off of a portion of Ra'iatea, this portion becoming the island of Tahiti; the chiefs concerned in this separation were said to have divided the land among themselves and their people, and to have erected *marae* "to prove their titles to their respective possessions"[2]. This was, of course, only a legend, but it shows how the people regarded the *marae*. Tyerman and Bennet say that in the island of Borabora it was usual, on the consecration of a *marae*, for the king to enter and walk over it, before either the chief or other people were allowed to do so[3]; I have no doubt that this ceremony was associated with the idea that the *marae* was the property of the king.

A chief might be the owner of more than one *marae* in cases where two or more titles, carrying with them their *marae*, and property and rights belonging to the holders of those titles, as official heads and on behalf of the social groups of which they were chiefs, became concentrated in one man, or where a chief, having a *marae*, built, or had built for him, another one, as in the case of the new *marae* built by Amo and Purea for their son. It seems to have been the custom, in such a case, for the chief to have a separate title in respect of each of his *marae*. We have seen, for example, that the Vaiari chief had a title Maheanu belonging to him in connection with his *marae* named Farepua, and a title Teri'inui in connection with his *marae* named Tahiti. This example is instructive, because the Farepua *marae* was evidently the original or earlier *marae* of the Vaiari ancestors of the whole Teva group, and the Tahiti *marae* a later acquisition from another source; and it appears that it was under his Maheanu title that he had been officially the head of the Teva, and continued to be their head socially. The Papara head chief bore the title of Tuiterai in connection with his *marae* Taputuarai, the title of Aromaiterai in connection with his *marae* Tooarai, and the title of Teri'irere in connection with his *marae* Mahaiatea[4]. Ari'i Taimai's mother was sole heir to Marama, the head chief of Eimeo, who, through the extinction of the families of chiefs in Tahiti, had succeeded to most of the great names and properties in Eimeo and Tahiti. Ari'i Taimai says her mother thus had a number of family

[1] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 168–71.
[2] T. Henry, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 5.
[3] Vol. I, p. 323.
[4] Ari'i Taimai, p. 16.

marae, of which thirteen were in Eimeo and Tahiti, and she gives a list of all these *marae*, and of the titles associated with them respectively, each being different from the others, and each title carrying with it the lands that belonged to it, and making her mistress there in her own right. I notice that she had two titles in the Vaiari district—namely, Maheanu-i-Farepua and Teri'inui-o-Tahiti, which accords with what I have already said about the *marae* there[1].

The interest, for our present purpose, of the ownership by a chief of two or more *marae*, except perhaps in cases where a second or other *marae* had been built by a chief for himself or his son, and had not come to him by family succession, is that each of his titles would be that, or one of those, of the head of the specific social group on whose behalf he owned the *marae*, and that the association of each title with one of these *marae* illustrates the close genealogical connection between the several *marae* and social groups whose official heads held the titles.

Referring to Baessler's statement as to a man wandering away and attaching himself to his *fetii*, I am inclined to think his meaning is this. The wanderer is supposed to have been the owner of a *marae* and would not by wandering lose his rights as such. If that *marae* "was one of high standing"—by which I suspect he means, if it was a parent of the *marae* of his *fetii*—then he might become the superior head of that *marae* also, but would have to adopt a name connecting him with it; and in any case, whether he did so or not, he would be entitled to a seat in the *fetii marae* befitting his rank in the larger group of which he and the *fetii* were members.

I now pass to the subject of what I may call the family seats in the *marae*. There are a few more references, besides those by de Bovis, Baessler, and Ari'i Taimai already quoted, to the specific stone seats. Cuzent speaks of stones called *niho* (teeth) in a Tahitian *marae*, which he says represented the places of the different members of the family to whom the enclosure belonged, the stone in the centre being the seat of the eldest son[2], who, I may point out, would be the holder of the title. Baessler describes a *marae* in the island of Eimeo, containing a pyramid, an altar, and nine large stones, the seats of the chiefs and nobles of the land, round the altar[3]. Tyerman and Bennet, in describing the great *marae* of Tane in Huahine, refer to two

[1] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 161 *sq.*, 174.
[2] Cuzent, *O'Taiti*, p. 127.
[3] Baessler, *N.S.B.* p. 140.

small terraces each a foot high, on the declivity immediately below the *marae*; and say that on the lower side of these were eight isolated stones, set up at some distance from one another, designating by their position with reference to the temple, that part of it which particularly belonged to each of the eight districts of the island, and round which the inhabitants on public occasions congregated in tribes[1]. They evidently regard these stones as having been just outside the *marae*, but as to this the question may be what exactly do we include in the term *marae*. The point is not material to our present purpose, and I suggest that the stones were probably the seats of the chiefs of the eight districts, near which their respective people would congregate. T. Salmon, in speaking of a certain *marae*, says that some members had disappeared, and their seats in the family temple had remained unclaimed[2]. As regards the penalty of intrusion by an outsider, we are told that this was death[3].

There are traditional and historical records of the Society Islands concerning the founding of new *marae* by removing a stone from some existing *marae*, as stated by Baessler and Ari'i Taimai; I will draw attention to some of these, and I could, I think, by further search, include others. We have seen that, according to tradition, Teva set up his *marae* at Mataoa in Papara, by transferring there a stone from the old Vaiari *marae* Farepua; and the Vaiari *marae* Tahiti had its origin in a stone taken from the great *marae* at Opoa in Ra'iatea; and the *marae* in Tautira was founded with a stone taken from the *marae* at Borabora; and that, according apparently to history, the *marae* Tooarai was founded with a stone taken from the *marae* Taputuarai, both in Papara. We are told that Pomare I took a stone from the above-mentioned Opoa *marae* of his ancestors by one line of descent, and with it founded a *marae* of the same name in his district of Pare Arue[4]. Both T. Salmon and Miss Henry refer to the practice, the former speaking of it as a thing done by members who left the district of their old *marae*, who cared for their social standing, and thus acquired new *marae* which became the title deeds of their rank[5]. The island of Borabora provides an interesting example of a development of the custom. A Rotuman prince arrived there bringing with him a stone from his own *marae*, and

[1] Vol. I, p. 282.
[2] *J.P.S.* vol. XIX, p. 43.
[3] Ari'i Taimai, p. 29.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 86.
[5] T. Salmon, *J.P.S.* vol. XIX, p. 43. T. Henry, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 5.

married a Boraboran princess. They built a new *marae*, and placed the prince's stone in one front corner of it, and a stone from the royal *marae* of Borabora in the other, and called the *marae* Fare-rua (two houses), thus "making it a seat of royalty as great as the parental *marae* of the two families"[1]. This *marae* would therefore be a permanent standing record of the double line of ancestry in the genealogical tree of the family of descendants arising from the marriage. Another variation is seen in the placing over the grave of the young heir of the king of Huahine of a stone taken from the great *marae* of Oro there[2].

I will give a couple of examples illustrating the question of the right to a seat in a *marae*. Pomare I of Pare-Arue (Purionuu) was the son of a woman of the family of the head chiefs of Ra'iatea, and through her had a right to a seat in the great *marae* at Opoa[3]; but he had no rights and no seat in the *marae* of Matavai (Hapape), to the east of Pare-Arue, and dare not even enter the district[4]. On the other hand, the mother of Amo of Papara was the daughter of the chief of Hapape, so his son Teri'irere had a seat in the *marae* there[5]. So, when Cook arrived at Matavai in 1769, he never saw Pomare; but he did see Amo, Purea and Teri'irere[6]. The difference between the rights of these two chiefs in the Hapape *marae* is significant, because, as has been shown, the influence of Papara was weak in that district, whilst it was included in the area of general influence of the Pomare family; and at the period to which the statement applies Papara had just been thoroughly beaten in the general war waged against it on behalf of the Pomares. Yet the defeated Teri'irere of Papara had the right of entry there, and the victorious Pomare was excluded. Then, again, after the great defeat of Amo and Purea, Tutaha, as we have seen, seized the *maro-ura*, or sacred red feather belt, which had been made for their son Teri'irere, and placed it in the great *marae* of Oro in Attahuru. In order that Pomare I should receive full recognition it was necessary that he should take his seat, and wear the belt in that *marae*. At the outset his right to take a seat in the *marae* was challenged and disputed; but ultimately he was, it is said, allowed to do so because his great-grandmother was a daughter of a chieftainess of Ahurai

[1] T. Henry, *J.P.S.* vol. XXI, p. 77. [2] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 244.
[3] Ari'i Taimai, p. 86. [4] *Ibid.* p. 90. [5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.* p. 89.

and Punaauia, and as such had a right to a seat there[1]—a right which would descend to Pomare.

On the death of Teri'irere, his younger brother Ari'ifaataia succeeded to the head chieftainship of Papara; but as he was only fifteen or sixteen years old, Ari'ipaea, who had married the niece of his father Amo, was appointed his guardian[2]. Pomare I, wishing to secure the chieftainship of Papara, intrigued with the guardian Ari'ipaea, and the latter, in treachery to his ward, surrendered it. The form by which this was done was, so far as it affects the matter now under discussion, as follows. Pomare and his party landed in Papara, and proceeded to the *marae*, where Ari'ipaea, on behalf of his ward, was seated upon the stone seat of the head chief of Papara; the latter then arose, invited Pomare to sit there in his place, which he did, Ari'ipaea prostrating himself at his feet. The high priest then offered human sacrifices to the god, tore an eye from one of the victims, offered it to Pomare, engaged in long prayers, and then addressed "the new ruler," offering him, in the name of Ari'ipaea, the lands of the district of Papara[3]. The people of Papara had no share in this performance, and indeed knew nothing of it until it was completed. They regarded it as a betrayal of trust, and seem never to have recognized that it was binding on them[4].

The customs with reference to the Society Island *marae*, looking at them broadly, and starting their consideration with the contemplation of what I have called an original *marae*—that is a *marae* not derived from a stone taken from another—seem to have been substantially as follows. (1) The original *marae* belonged to the chief in his official capacity of head of the social group of which he was chief, and, in a sense at all events, on behalf of the group. (2) The ownership of this *marae* passed to his successors to the title. (3) No one might enter the *marae* who was not a member of the group. This is undoubtedly correct; but it must not be understood to imply that any one who was a member of the group, down to the humblest, had the right of entry. This is a question which I cannot discuss here, as *marae* differed in form, and it is often impossible to say exactly what was, from the point of view of

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 74 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 111 (correcting Moerenhout, who in vol. II, p. 416, speaks of Ari'ipaea as the chief and Faataia as the guardian).

[3] Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 418 *sq.* (names have been transposed by me).

[4] Ari'i Taimai, p. 115.

right of entry, the boundary of what writers call the *marae*. The custom was apparently, speaking very generally, for the head priest and his attendants, and the head chief or king, to occupy prominent central positions in the *marae*; whilst sub-chiefs—official heads of sub-groups—who could prove their social relationship to the royal family, in which I include descent from the common ancestors of the whole group, or certain of those sub-chiefs, according, I imagine, to their rank, were entitled to occupy their ancestral stone seats within the *marae*, and this right passed to their successors. The general body of the people was outside the *marae* proper, though they formed part of the worshipping group; but I cannot point to any defined rule of distinction between sub-chiefs who might occupy their seats in the *marae* and people who had to be outside[1]. My point is that those, whether inside or outside the *marae*, who took part, active or passive, in the religious rites that were being conducted there, were actually or substantially, all members of the social group to whom, or to whose head chief, the *marae* belonged. (4) A chief might own more than one *marae*, one of these being his ancestral *marae* and the other or others *marae* that had been built by or for him. I imagine that the social regulations relating to these others would be similar to those of the ancestral *marae*; but I find no evidence as to this. (5) A chief might, as the result of successions, acquire the titles—the headships—of two or more social groups, in which case he would be the owner of the *marae* of the head chiefs of both those groups. But socially, and to a greater or less extent at all events, politically, his rights to these *marae* would be separate and distinct one from another; his ownership of each *marae*, would be that of the head chief of the group to whose chief it belonged and to the title of which chief he had succeeded, and the rights of other people of entry and having ancestral stone seats in the *marae* would be such as I have indicated above, but confined to members of that group. (6) A sub-chief entitled to a stone seat in a *marae* could remove a stone from that *marae*, and with it found a new *marae* to be built by him, and of which he would be the owner, as chief of the sub-group of which he was the head. It is not clear whether the stone so removed would be his ancestral seat in the parent *marae* or some other stone forming part of it. Baessler says it

[1] There are one or two matters mentioned here the evidence as to which has not yet been given.

was the former; but I am convinced the chief would not lose his right to sit in the parent *marae*, and if he did not do so, one would think he would leave his ancestral seat there. (7) The chief of a parent *marae* evidently had recognized rights in the daughter *marae*, including, apparently, the right to be regarded as its super-head; in which case he would, I imagine, be entitled, if present in the daughter *marae*, to take the principal seat there; but I cannot say that this was so. He would, however, have to have a name or title by which he was associated with that *marae*.

As regards the whole question of the bearing upon the subject of social and local grouping of the evidence as to the ideas of the people, and their customs connected with the *marae*, my contention, which is in accord with statements by writers, is this. I point out that a *marae* might, in the absence of investigation, be associated by an observer simply with a group of people, living in a certain area, and this would be consistent with a belief that the grouping of the people was local. When, however, we recognize how closely connected these *marae* were with the families and their genealogies, noticing among other things the rights given to unknown people arriving from a distance, provided they could prove their ancestry, we are, I think, justified in regarding this connection as additional evidence that the grouping was fundamentally social, even though local and social grouping were to a large extent coincident. The ownership by a chief of a *marae* was a title deed to the ancestral[1] headship of the social group as chief of which he held it; and if that *marae* was an old one, long possessed by the group in the names of its chiefs, his ownership was a visible sign of his long lineage. If the *marae* was recognized as having been an offshoot of a still older *marae*, its chief could point proudly to the antiquity of the original group of which his ancestors and he were the descendants. And all this evidence of ancestral rank would similarly be available for all persons who had ancestral seats in a *marae*, and indeed for all persons of the same social group.

The information on the question now under discussion obtained from islands other than those of the Society group, is only very fragmentary, and cannot be regarded as evidence in support of a definite connection between the right of entry into a *marae* and social groups, except so far as we can regard

[1] I do not use this term as necessarily involving direct *lineal* ancestry; I mean family ancestry, according to the customs of succession.

it in the light of what we know concerning the Society Islands, and suspect that this connection existed.

The *koutu* of Rarotonga were places where all the chiefs or priests met to discuss tribal events of note, and *marae* were generally built within the area of the *koutu*, there being sometimes three or four *marae* in one *koutu*. In calling out the name of a chief the public speaker would first call his name, then that of his *koutu* and then that of his *marae*. The *ariki* [great chief] being the head of the *koutu*, each member of his family had the right of proclaiming himself a white pebble of that *koutu*, "a proof of his royal rank," and each son or brother or daughter of the *ariki* could call himself a white pebble or stone of the *koutu*. Certain stones were set up as seats, called *akinanga*, on which the chiefs sat during the discussion. Only the head of each family could sit on these stones in the *koutu* of an *ariki*; but other *ariki* of other districts "also had special seats"[1].

The system, as I interpret this evidence, is that the *koutu* belonged to the *ariki*, on behalf of the whole group of which he was the head, and the *marae* within the *koutu* may all have belonged to him, or may have belonged to branches of the royal family. The calling out, along with the name of each chief, of that of his *koutu* and *marae* would be a formal recognition of his family title and titular right to be present at the meeting in the *koutu* of the great *ariki*. I imagine that his *koutu* and *marae* so called out would probably be the *koutu* and *marae* of his own family—related to the great family of which the *ariki* was the head—his ownership of which entitled him to take part in the meeting of the *koutu* of the *ariki*. The distinction between members of the family of the *ariki* and his son, brother, or daughter, is not clear; but in both cases we get the element of relationship. I shall refer later on to the presence of other *ariki* at the meeting. I draw attention to the symbolic conception of the relatives of the *ariki* as pebbles or stones, as this also is a matter to which I shall have to refer again. It is stated that the chiefs—heads of families—sat on stones, and that *ariki* of other districts *also had special seats*. This implies that the seats of all the chiefs were "special," and I think we may gather that the meaning is that each chief had his own stone seat, and if so there can be no doubt that it would be the ancestral seat of his family that had been occupied by his predecessors.

[1] Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 218.

I have already referred to the Rarotongan *marae* at or named Araitetonga, the erection of which was attributed to Karika, the founder of the great Makea family of the island. According to another belief, this *marae* was built by Tangiia, the founder of the other great original family bearing his name, but had passed to Karika as the price for aiding Tangiia against Tutapu and so had become a Karika possession[1]. It was the principal *marae* of Rarotonga, where [*i.e.* near which, not actually in which?] the ruling Makea chief often dwelt[2]; and where it was absolutely necessary that he should own some land[3]. Smith visited this *marae* and gives a description of it, with a sketch plan[4], and I will refer to so much of this as touches our present purpose. It was situate on the ancient road encircling the island, and was the *marae* of Rarotonga where religious services were performed, sacrifices to the gods were made, and the annual feast at the presentation of the first fruits was held. Smith thinks it probable that it had once been enclosed by a stone wall, though this had disappeared. The present point of interest in Smith's account is his reference to the stone seats, etc. On the southern side of the road, and evidently facing across it, were the seats of the great Makea *ariki* or king and of the two priests who assisted him in the ceremonies; and there also was the stone on which were laid the heads of the human victims brought there to be sacrificed to the gods. Behind these—a little away from the road—was the stone on to which the Makea chief was raised when he was anointed as king of the island[5]. It is stated that, after anointment here, he had to be taken to the *marae* of the principal home of the Tangiia family, and another Tangiia *marae*. On the other side of the road was the stone on which the offerings to the Makea *ariki* were placed, and the following stone seats, opposite to and evidently facing those mentioned above:

The seat of the Pa-*ariki*
„ „ Tinomana
„ „ Vaka-a-tini
The seats of the Kainuku and others } Nothing to show how many seats
„ „ Au and Maturua } each of these groups had

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XII, p. 220. Cf. Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVI, p. 59.
[2] Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVI, p. 218.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 220.
[4] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XII, pp. 218 *sqq.*
[5] There were stones used for this purpose in Society Island *marae*, but I did not think it necessary to refer to them. The same thing is reported from other islands also.

Smith, in referring elsewhere to these seats, says that the chiefs could tell to whom each seat belonged, the whole history of the place, and the ceremonies performed there[1].

The Makea head chief would, I may point out, occupy his seat as king of the whole island. The Pa-*ariki* would, as we have seen, be the head of the great Tangiia group of people, and the Tinomana the head of the great Tinomana group. In view of the beliefs that either Karika married Tangiia's daughter, or Tangiia married Karika's daughter, the Rarotongans would believe that the two families—Makea and Tangiia—were related to each other; the Tinomana group, though apparently of Tangiian origin, was evidently related to both the great families, and the Kainuku family was a branch of that of Tangiia. Therefore, applying to this case the rules that prevailed in the Society Islands, the right of the Tangiia and Tinomana head chiefs and the Kainuku chief to seats in this Makea *marae* would be well founded; though perhaps they would only exercise those rights on occasions affecting the whole island, as distinguished from those relating only to the affairs of the Makea group. Smith, quoting lists obtained by Large, includes the Vaka-a-tini among the sub-tribes of the Makea tribe[2]. I have not been able to trace the families of Au and Maturua, and we do not know what families are included by the words "and others." I have found no statement as to any relationship qualification required for admission to a Rarotongan *marae*, and I cannot prove that there was any relationship at all in the case of the families I have not been able to trace. All we can do, therefore, is to say that in this *marae* there were a number of what were evidently ancestral family stone seats, similar in the purpose for which they were used, to those of the Society Islands, note the evidence as to relationship so far as it goes, and speculate on the probability that in Rarotonga also the qualification for such a seat was social in character. An interesting link between the ideas of the Society Islands and of Rarotonga is, however, suggested by a statement that the *mataiapo* (sub-chiefs) who came with Tangiia to Rarotonga built their own *marae* themselves, "and they called the names of those *marae* after the *marae* of Avaiki" [whence they had come], "which names they brought with them. The names of the owners of these *marae* were those of their ancestors, that they brought them with them, *so that they*

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. xi, p. 174. [2] *J.P.S.* vol. ii, p. 271.

might not be lost" [the italics are mine]. "They [those names] are still to be found in Tahiti, Paumotu, and other lands at the present time"[1]. We get here the idea, to which I have already referred, that an original *marae* was in fact a commencing family title deed to the line of chiefs who owned it; and apparently its value as such was not confined to its use as evidence of ancestry to be offered to the people of the island, or even group of islands, in which the *marae* stood.

I must point out that the subject with which Savage deals is the holding of a council meeting somewhere in the *koutu*; whilst Smith's information refers *apparently* to a religious ceremony in the *marae*, but, if so, it is possible that what he tells us as to the place and method of seating which he describes would apply to a council meeting also.

We have seen that in Aitutaki, Taruia, the *ariki* of the island, having been enticed away from it by means of a trick by the usurper Ruatapu, his descendant Urirau afterwards returned to the island, and claimed his ancestral throne, and that to put this descendant's title to the test, he was taken to the *marae* to recite the requisite incantations and prayers, his successful performance of which secured for him recognition and installation as *ariki*. The point of this seems to have been that his knowledge of these things was regarded as evidence that he was indeed a descendant of Taruia, which may perhaps be compared with the case of a Tahitian wanderer, appearing as a stranger, who could obtain recognition and his ancestral family rights on proving his descent.

Stevenson, in describing an old *marae* in the Marquesan island of Nukuhiva, says "It was easy to follow rows of benches, and to distinguish isolated seats of honour for eminent persons"[2]; and in another *marae* one of the fathers was shown a stone, which was, he was told, the throne of some well-descended lady[3]. Here again the interest of the information depends solely upon the possibility of its pointing to a system similar to that of the Society Islands.

We have seen the recognition of the ownership by a head chief of a *marae* in the Paumotu in the story of Moeava of Takaroa (Takapua) Island. The head chief of the island was Tangihia, the eldest son of Moeava's elder brother Tangaroa. Moeava, in his travels, had married in the island of Napuka, and a son Kehauri had been born to him. Then on his return

[1] *Ibid.* p. 277. [2] Stevenson, *S.S.* p. 99. [3] *Ibid.* p. 50.

with his wife and child to Takaroa, disputes arose between Tangihia and Kehauri, each claiming the head of a turtle. Tangihia, as head chief, was owner of the *marae* there, and so the head had been given to him; and Kehauri's demand for it was met by the reply that if he claimed the honour he must go to his own *marae* at Napuka, where he was at home and master. Montiton says that the Paumotuans lived scattered about on the shores of their islands, *but grouped in families* (the italics are mine); and that the chief or most influential member established or consecrated his authority by the construction of a *marae*, of which he became sole priest[1]. There is a story of a chief Tupa, whose home was in a foreign country, but who had been conquered and driven out, and eventually landed with his party in the island of Mangareva. On landing he erected, in honour of the god Tu, an "altar" of stones brought from a distance[2]. The distance referred to may have been the foreign country, or some intermediate home at which Tupa and his party settled for a time during their wanderings. In either case the story may have had its origin in the bringing of a stone from another *marae* for the founding of a new one; and as to this I may say that writers often use the term "altar" for what was apparently a *marae*.

Smith, speaking of the village of Tupua, then the capital of Niue, refers to a large stone platform, near to which were eleven seats, formed of stones with backs to them, where the chiefs sat in *fono* with the king, and in another place was a stone on or against which the king sat when anointed at his installation. Smith draws attention to the similarity between these stones and the stones at the Rarotonga *marae* described above. He says that in Niue the people knew nothing of specific ownership of special stones by different chiefs; but apparently their memories had been defective as regards matters generally, and it is, I think, most probable that, originally at all events, the seats had their owners, as in other islands[3]. Thomson also says the gods were approached upon sacred mounds, and refers to stones, against which the great chiefs of the island leant, and which, he says, were the time-honoured symbols of the assumption of supreme power[4].

[1] Montiton, vol. VI, p. 502.
[2] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 125.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. XI, p. 174. Cf. *ibid.* vol. XII, p. 219.
[4] Thomson, *S.I.* pp. 95 *sq.*, 35, 37, and *note* p. 37.

Meade, after referring to a stone at Bau in Fiji, used for braining victims, says that near it was a double row of raised seats or slabs of stone, where the chiefs sat to direct the massacre and enjoy the spectacle[1].

In the *marae*, in the island of Fakaofo, of the Union or Tokelau group, this *marae* being a thatched building and not a stone structure, were a number of stools, about 2 ft. high, 2 ft. broad and 3 ft. long, concerning which Wilkes was told they were the seats of the gods, but he thought they were reclining stools, whilst Hale suggests that they were seats for the elders, meeting in council or for religious celebrations. There is no definite information as to their purpose, and we have no knowledge of the allocation of certain stools to certain persons[2].

Gill provides a story from Danger (Bukabuka) Island relating to a proposal of the head chief of the island to abdicate in favour of his grand-daughter. The interest of it in connection with our present subject is a reference to what took place in the *marae*, and the statement that all the people collected "in their proper places" in the *marae*[3].

As regards all this evidence about *marae* in other islands than the Society group, it is indicated, or seems probable, in one or two cases that the stone seats belonged to specific chiefs, in which case they would presumably be ancestral seats, as in the Society Islands; whilst in others there is no ground for assuming that they belonged to special chiefs, though the fact that this was the case in the Society Islands and some others seems to make it probable that they were so.

We have been dealing, up to this point, with ancestral stone seats in or near to *marae* which were themselves structures made mainly of stone; and Samoa offers evidence of a somewhat similar character, except that wooden posts are substituted for stone seats. I cannot in this book enter into the big subject of the Polynesian *marae* and other structures used for official or religious purposes, but in recognizing the difference between meetings held for religious purposes and those whose use was for the discussion of secular affairs, we must bear in mind that, whilst the former were generally held in the *marae*, the place of the latter seems to have been in or near it, and indeed any discussion of the difference between the two may depend in

[1] Meade, p. 344. [2] Wilkes, vol. v, pp. 14 *sq.* Hale, pp. 157 *sq.*
[3] *J.P.S.* vol. XXI, p. 123.

part upon what we are to regard as being the actual boundaries of what may, strictly speaking, be called the *marae*.

In discussing the subject of ancestral seats in Samoa we are dealing, not with stone structures and stone seats, but with an open grass space or *marae* (in Samoa spelt *malae*) in which was a building constructed of wood, called a *faletele*, both of which were used for the holding of the *fono* or council meetings, and, I may say, for other purposes also. I cannot enter here into the general question of these other purposes, but they do not appear to have been solely secular in character, and if so the difference between their use and that of the stone-constructed *marae* was not so clearly marked as at first sight it seems possibly to have been. Taking the *faletele* first, Pritchard says that in the smaller towns the *faletele*, where the chiefs usually met for public purposes, and where visitors were entertained, was used as a temple[1]. I may say as to this that the Samoans had temples made of wood[2], and I fancy that Pritchard is referring to small villages that did not possess temples; but the use of a *faletele* for religious purposes does not seem to have been confined to small places. Krämer, in discussing the great divining *alataua*, says that when a great *fono* was held by Leulumoenga [the governing village district of Aana] and all Aana at Ma'aunga [the *marae* of Leulumoenga] an *aitu fono*[3] was first held. Two great *alataua* orator chiefs, when midnight was drawing near, adorned themselves with fine mats and went to this *fono* [the *aitu fono*] in the great house [the *faletele*]; the curtain mats of the house were let down, and they each sat in a round part of the house; neither of them spoke, but the will of the god was indicated in a way which Krämer describes. Then, when morning came, all Aana went to the *fono* [the big consultative *fono* on the *marae*] and the two chiefs imparted to it what the god had made known to them[4], which would of course influence the decision of the *fono*. As regards the *marae*, or open space, von Bülow describes it as the assembly place, on which, however, religious acts were performed, and says that to sleep on the *marae* was to make a suit to the gods. He gives an example of a tradition of a man who had suffered injury from another, and wanted to punish him, and who therefore slept on the *marae*, where he was visited by *aitu* who were friendly [*befreundet*, friendly, allied, akin] and held a consultation with

[1] Pritchard, p. 110.
[2] See illustration in Stair, p. 227.
[3] *Aitu* means a spirit or god.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 151.

him on the matter[1]. So also there was a tradition of a council meeting of all the *aitu* of Samoa held on the *marae* of the village district of Safotu in Savai'i[2].

I have drawn attention to these points of partial similarity between the *marae*, with their *faletele*, of Samoa, and the *marae* of the Society and certain other islands, because I think that this adds somewhat to the interest of a comparison of the practices as to ancestral posts in the former with those concerning ancestral stones in the latter. In Samoa what appear to have been the ancestral positions of chiefs were posts of the *faletele*, near or against which certain people sat, the head chief having the position of honour. I propose to postpone the consideration of the evidence as to this until I discuss the Samoan *fono*, as it can be dealt with more conveniently there. I may, however, refer here to a myth as to the wanderings of three sons of Tangaroa of the skies, in which they reached Pulotu (the Samoan paradise); two of them remained there, where they built a house, and sent for their brother, who had wandered on, "to be a post in their house, as his son was old enough to take the title"[3]. I will not attempt to interpret exactly the meaning of the sentence which I have put in inverted commas; but it points apparently to an idea of a connection between a post of a house and a title; and in Samoa the souls of the dead were supposed to become posts in the house or temple of the gods in Pulotu[4]. We have seen an idea of a somewhat similar character in the Mangaian conception of the state as a long dwelling-house of which the chiefs of one side of the island represented one half, and those of the other represented the other; the idea evidently was that they were the vertical posts supporting the roof, as the minor chiefs were regarded as the lesser rafters and the other people the thatch covering; also, as we have seen, the idea was carried to a conception of a spirit dwelling in the under world where the deities lived, and which they actually constituted, the major gods being the pillars and main rafters, the minor gods the lesser rafters, and so on. So also in Tonga there was a belief that Hikuleo, the god of the dead, used the souls of the dead to serve as posts for his dwelling and other similar purposes[5]; and there was a some-

[1] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 68, and *note* 6.
[2] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 159.
[3] Stair, pp. 293 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 215. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 644.
[5] Reiter, *Anthropos*, vol. II, p. 239. Cf. Wilkes, vol. III, p. 23.

what similar idea in the Society Islands[1]. In the Marquesas the word *pou*—a pillar—was used figuratively for a chief[2]. It is, I think, in the light of these underlying ideas, evidently widely spread in Polynesia, that we must regard the ancestral posts in the *faletele* of Samoa. The owners of the titles would be regarded as pillars of state, and the idea would be symbolized by associating them with specific posts of the *faletele*; and I think this suggestion must be borne in mind when, in discussing the Samoan *fono*, we consider the question of these posts. The idea may perhaps be compared with the Rarotongan practice, to which I have referred, for the relatives of the *ariki* to call themselves stones or pebbles of the *koutu*, bearing in mind that the ancestral seats there were stones[3]. I think I have shown that the constitution of a Samoan *fono* was essentially social in character, and I regard the ancestral posts as comparable, so far as they go, with the stone seats in the *marae* of the Society Islands, and as similarly supporting the idea of social grouping.

There are one or two statements affecting the matter which I will introduce here. Monfat tells of a young chief who was a stranger in the village district of Lealatele in Savai'i, but who "had the right to figure there because of the title he bore"[4]; from which we must, I suggest, infer that, as he was able to prove his titular or family relationship with the people of the district, he was admitted—I imagine to a *fono*; and this would be consistent with a system of social grouping.

Krämer, speaking of the great *fono* of Manu'a, held in Tau, says that places were appointed for government at centres in other parts of Samoa; and in illustration of this he mentions Leifi and Tautolo (in Aleipata), Safotulafai (in Savai'i) and Iato (in Tutuila), and adds that if guests did not know their places, or showed themselves unacquainted with Manu'a's customs, they were not received[5]. The admission of people from other parts of Samoa to the *fono* of Manu'a, held at Tau, could hardly have been a general and comprehensive one, and indeed the need for knowledge of "their places" (*i.e.* at the Tau *fono*) and acquaintance with Manu'an customs negatives this, and suggests that the people admitted must have been Manu'a people or people who were *ainga* to Manu'a; I have

[1] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 331. [2] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, p. 670 *note* 1.
[3] "Pebbles" would only be an English translation of a native word which might only mean a relatively small block of stone.
[4] Monfat, *M.S.* p. 207. [5] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 368 *note* 3

therefore tried to find clues as to the names referred to by Krämer, with the following results.

Leifi and Tautoloitua were names of Tafua and Fautanga, the two great orator chiefs who practically ruled the Aleipata district of Atua[1]. Aleipata was closely connected with Manu'a. It was the place where Manu'a people travelling to western Upolu or Savai'i put up during their voyages; their host usually being the chief Matautia of the village district of Saleaaumua[2], the seat of government of Aleipata[3]. A daughter of a *tuimanu'a* had married a Matautia of Tau, whom Krämer seems to think may have been connected with the Matautia of Aleipata and elsewhere in Samoa[4]. Safotulafai was a village district in Savai'i, and, judging from the greeting for this village district, its connection with the *tuimanu'a* family seems to have arisen, in some way which I have been unable to trace, from the marriage of a *tuimanu'a* with a woman of the Tolufale family[5]. Iato was a Tutuila family; and though I have been unable to trace its connection with the *tuimanu'a*, the genealogy of the family discloses a marriage of an Iato woman with a Matautia, which on the basis of the belief above referred to might involve a Manu'a connection[6]. I recognize that this evidence is not sufficient; but it is at least suggestive of a family connection between Leifi and Tautoloitua (the two great orator chiefs of Aleipata), the village district of Safotulafai in Savai'i, and the Iato family of Tutuila with the *tuimanu'a*; and if this connection may be believed to have existed, Krämer's observation with reference to them acquires an obvious significance.

I have referred to the Tangaroa and Muliana families of the island of Savai'i and to the four village districts scattered round the coast which each of these families occupied. I shall, in a later chapter relating to the social character of war, refer to fighting between the four village districts of one of those families with the four village districts of the other. In connection with this fighting, the son of a Muliana woman of one of these village districts had been killed, whilst fishing, by a party of the enemy, and the matter to which I draw attention is the lament of the mother. She cries out "Where was my *ainga* [family] then?" and in her subsequent lament refers to him as "the boy of" the *malae* of each of the four Muliana village districts in turn

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 279, 280.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 445 *note* 3.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 280.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 379, 281.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 48, 192, 379.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 334.

(the name of the *malae* being given in each case), and asks in each case "where were" the great orator chiefs of the *malae*[1]. This shows how the *malae* of each of these village districts and their leading orator chiefs were all regarded by her as under the duties of the *ainga* or family bond, and should, she thought, have saved the life of her son; and in this way it points to the social character of the *malae* and the *fono* and other ceremonies which took place in them.

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 117 *sq.*

CHAPTER XVI

MATRILINEAL DESCENT

PRELIMINARY

THE natural way of arranging my material would be to consider descent, succession and inheritance together as a combined or closely-associated whole; but I propose to confine myself for the present to the evidence of or pointing to the archaic system of matrilineal descent, and to deal separately later on with succession and inheritance.

As I shall have to employ the terms "descent," "succession," and, perhaps, "inheritance," I must define the meanings with which I do so. The term "descent" will be used for the transmission of membership of a family or other social group, the question arising being whether a person was regarded as belonging to the social group of his father or of his mother. "Succession" will refer to the transmission of official rank or other similar distinction, and will be found to be used more especially with reference to the devolution of the headship, and the family title or name, of a social group. "Inheritance" will be confined to the transmission of property. It will be seen that I am practically adopting Rivers's terminology[1], except as regards my introduction into the definition of "succession" of the word "official." We have to distinguish in Polynesia between what I may call rank of nobility of blood and ancient family lineage, which, according to my definitions, would pass by "descent," and rank of office, which would pass by "succession." In the case, for example, of a domestic family comprising a father and mother and their children, in which, on the death of the father, his position as official head of the family passed to one of the children; this would be "succession," and would be patrilineal. But the "rank" of all the children, using the term in the sense of nobility of family blood and lineage—a most important matter in Polynesia—would depend upon the question whether they were regarded as belonging to the family of their father or of their mother; and with a lingering partial recognition of matrilineal descent,

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 15 *sq.*

if the mother was a member of a group of nobler blood than that of the father, it might be that the social rank, which was regarded as descending upon all the children, was greater than that of the official title, to which only one of them had succeeded. This is an illustration of a distinction of ideas which has to be borne in mind in studying Polynesia. Let me give another illustration of my meaning by considering the case of a chief with three wives of different degrees of social nobility, by each of whom he had children. This would generally be regarded as one family—the family of the father; but there would be a recognized and important differentiation between the rank of nobility of blood of the families of children of the three respective wives, and it would not *necessarily* follow that the patrilineal succession fell to a member of the maternal family to whom the highest matrilineal rank of blood had descended, at all events if the difference between the social nobility of the mothers was not very marked. The successor would be superior to all the other children in rank of official authority, but might be inferior to them, or some of them, in rank of family nobility.

An actual example of the distinction is seen in the fact that the head chiefs of the Papara district of the Teva group of Tahiti, to whom had passed the head chieftainship of the entire group, were superior in official rank to the head chiefs of the district of Vaiari, though the latter were, apparently, regarded as being superior in rank of descent.

SAMOA

Passing now to the question of matrilineal descent, I may say in advance that in Samoa succession was in the main, though apparently not entirely, patrilineal; but I am going to refer to evidence which seems to point more or less clearly to ideas derived from a system of matrilineal descent which had prevailed in the past, and which, indeed, had not died out completely, and to customs which may have had their origin in matrilineal descent. I assume that under a definite and general system of matrilineal descent, succession was, before the rights of the father had begun to be asserted, matrilineal also, as the succession would have to pass to a member of the social group. Apparently Samoa was, when it came under the observation of white men, in a state of transition concerning these matters, the change having been strongly and widely

developed as regarded succession, but not so much as to descent. Writers use the terms "descent," "succession," and "inheritance" without any scientific precision, sometimes apparently as being interchangeable. In quoting them I shall follow their own terminology, and we must try to gather what they really mean.

Wilkes (1838–42) says that the son of a chief by a low-born woman ranked as a chief, although he might have no authority; whilst, on the other hand, the son of a noble woman by a man of mean birth might be either a chief or a commoner[1]. Pritchard (1866) says that in Samoa, as in Tonga, social and political rank was regulated by the grade of the mother rather than by that of the father[2]. The discrepancy between these two statements may well be due to the fact that Wilkes obtained his information in a district where the process of change had developed further than in the other. Brown (1860–74) says that in Samoa, so far as he knew, there were only traces of the old exogamous divisions and matriarchal descent; but that he was certain that they had existed[3]. The exogamous divisions had passed away, and almost the only trace of their previous existence was found in the semi-sacred relationship of the sister and the sister's children to the brother and his children. Descent through the father had replaced that of the purely matriarchal line, though descent through the mother was still an important consideration, especially in the families of chiefs[4]. With the decay of the exogamous system and the advance of culture, descent through the father replaced the old custom of descent through the mother; and the immediate effect of this was the establishment of hereditary chieftainship, whereby the brother of the deceased chief, or his son, naturally became chief in succession to the deceased brother or father[5]. I would point out that these statements involve a confusion between what I call descent and succession; but their general effect is sufficiently clear. Churchward (1881–5) tells of a dispute between two Tutuila chiefs as to which of them ought to have their family name of Maunga [*i.e.* should succeed to the headship of the family]. One of them claimed it on the ground that he was the son of the sister of the old Maunga, a right which Churchward says was still recognized in some parts of Samoa; but the other stood upon a right claimed by

[1] Wilkes, vol. II, p. 152. [2] Pritchard, p. 393.
[3] Brown, p. 39. [4] *Ibid.* p. 96. [5] *Ibid.* p. 282.

him as direct heir and son of the late chief, duly named by him on dying[1]. This account is peculiarly interesting, because it exemplifies the struggle between matrilineal and patrilineal interests, which the growth of patrilineal succession had brought about, and the confusion on the subject in the minds of the Samoans themselves. The claim of one of the disputants, involved not merely matrilineal descent, but matrilineal succession. As regards this matter I may draw attention to Krämer's reference to the succession of the orators' office of granting chiefs' titles, which, he says, passed from father to son, sister's son, grandson, and so on[2]; and to Stuebel's reference to the case of a chief, who, if he grew feeble, would have to decide whether the succession was to pass to the son of the sister of his predecessor or to his own son[3]. It will be noticed that no mention is made by these writers of brothers' sons; and I may point out that under matrilineal descent the defect of the title of the son of a chief would apply equally to that of the son of any of his brothers. These ideas may have been based on a lingering recognition of matrilineal descent, involving matrilineal succession. According to von Bülow, the son did not always inherit the family name of the father; but in cases where the mother was of higher descent than the father, he inherited the family name of his mother's father, or of the father of his mother's mother[4]. This inheriting of the family name refers to what I am calling succession. With strict matrilineal or patrilineal descent and succession the son would acquire both the family rank of nobility and the title of either the mother or the father, as the case might be; but we seem here to have an alternative, made possible by the developing change of custom, by which the son would or could take the rank and title of either his father or mother, according to circumstances. It is natural that the parent with the higher family social rank would wish that rank and the title of that family, rather than those of the other parent, to pass to his or her son. Von Bülow also refers to the spreading to Savai'i of Tongan customs, and apparently includes among these that by which the wife, and not the husband, was the holder of the family nobility of the rank of chiefs[5]. I am not sure that I interpret him correctly; but if I do we may here be dealing only with descent, and not neces-

[1] Churchward, pp. 335 *sq.*
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 10 *sq.*
[3] Stuebel, p. 111.
[4] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, p. 111.
[5] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXI, p. 85.

sarily with succession. Reinecke, in discussing the *taupou*, or village maiden, the daughter of the chief of the village, and, as we shall see hereafter, a person of immense importance and considerable power, says that highness of rank, and pride in one's ancestors, were transmitted by, and personified in, the *taupou* by means of female descent, almost more than in the male representatives of noble clans[1].

Some of Krämer's genealogies are, I think, somewhat suggestive on the question of matrilineal descent. The tree of the *tuiaana*[2] is carried back for thirty-three generations from, say, the end of last century. The real *tuiaana* line began, he thinks, with *tuiaana* Tamalelangi, thirteen generations back, since which his direct descendants nearly all possessed the title[3]. The portion of the tree to which I call attention is that preceding this person, and it is a curious feature of this portion that in it female names predominate. Immediately before him we find five successive generations represented by women, the descent passing in each case from mother to daughter. The first of these five successive women had a brother, who was the reigning *tuiaana*; and yet the family descent passed not through him, but through her to her daughter, and so with the subsequent generations. These women were not themselves holders of the title of *tuiaana*; apparently there were reigning *tuiaana* during the portion of the period of five generations, and the names of two of them are known[4]; and this adds to the significance of the carrying of the line of descent during the period of their reigns, not through them, but by a continued descent from mothers to daughters. I should say, however, as regards this matter, that in only one of these cases do we know that there was a son, through whom the descent might have been carried; but it is hardly likely that in each of the other generations there was no son.

I have picked out a few other examples of the same thing, and do not doubt that a search through all Krämer's genealogies would disclose others. The tree of the Tolufale (Aana) family includes five successive descents from mother to daughter, the last of which was ten generations back, and in three cases the

[1] Reinecke, *Globus*, vol. LXXVI, p. 6.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 169–73.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 169.
[4] *Ibid.* The Tongan supremacy seems to have over-lapped the earlier part of the period (p. 168); so probably there was no reigning *tuiaana* then.

woman to whom the descent passed had a brother[1]. That of the Alipia family (Aana) contains three consecutive descents from mothers to daughters, and then after an interval of two, there are two more; the last of these was four generations back, and in two cases there was a brother[2]. That of the Salevalasi family (Atua) contains three successive descents from mother to daughter, the last being eleven generations back, and in one case there was a brother[3]. The tree of the Fuaoletoelau family (Tuamasanga) includes one such descent, and then after an interval of two, there is a succession of four more; the last of these is four generations back, and in four cases there were brothers[4]. That of the Samoeleoi family (Savai'i) contained eight of these descents, following one after another; the last of them is apparently eleven generations back; in only two cases does the name of a brother appear[5]. That of the Tonumaipe'a family (Savai'i) contains four of these successive descents, and then, after an interval of four there is another; the last of them is ten generations back, and the names of brothers appear in one case[6]. The Leutongitupaitea (Savai'i) genealogy includes a series of three of these descents, and then, after an interval of two, another series of three; the last is ten generations back; I find no mention of brothers[7]. In the Fotuosamoa genealogy we find six successive descents of this character, the last of which was twelve generations back. No brother is mentioned[8]. In the genealogy of the ancestors of the Alalamua and Tufele families (Manu'a) there are three successive descents from mother to daughter, the last being two generations back; a brother is only mentioned in the first of them[9]. In that of the ancestors of Lika (Manu'a) there is a series of five such descents, and then, after an interval of seven, there is a series of two. The last of these is at the end of the tree; the names of brothers appear in four cases[10]. In all these cases I have only included in my numbers descents *from mothers* to daughters. The number of consecutive descents to daughters was obviously one more for each series.

As regards my references to the passing of descents from

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 192. When in this and subsequent cases I refer to brothers I mean that they are disclosed in the trees. It is probable that there were brothers (in some it almost must have been so) in other cases, as Krämer's particulars do not profess to be exhaustive in this respect.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 189. [3] *Ibid.* p. 296. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 249 *sq.*
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 101 *sq.* [6] *Ibid.* pp. 96 *sqq.* [7] *Ibid.* pp. 95 *sq.*
[8] *Ibid.* p. 86. [9] *Ibid.* p. 381. [10] *Ibid.* p. 380.

mothers to daughters, I must point out that they would pass to sons also, as all the children of the same mother would, under a system of matrilineal descent, belong to her social group. The point of the matter is, however, that each son would be, so far as the line of descent was concerned, a *cul-de-sac*; it would come to an end on his death, and it would be *through* his sister that it would be continued to subsequent generations.

I must explain, as regards these genealogical trees, that they are records primarily of descent, but also of successions. Suppose, for example, that we refer to a tree which begins with the name of a holder of the title. Particulars are given of the names of the chief's wives, and of the children of each wife, and so it is for subsequent generations; the name appearing for each next generation is generally that of one of the children of the previous generation, and he is commonly the person who succeeded to the title; this, however, is not always so; in some cases he is not a person who ever succeeded to the title, though he is an ancestor of a subsequent holder, and so forms a link in the family chain. Each of these trees is a record of the ancestors of the holder of the title in Krämer's time; it is primarily a record of successive descents of those ancestors, though it discloses the names of some of the previous holders of the title, even when they have not formed part of the continuous chain. It is clear, and under the circumstances is natural, that a tree does not necessarily mention, as regards any generation, all the marriages, or all the children of the marriages of that generation. We see this in comparing the trees of related families, where we sometimes find, as regards some one generation, that one tree refers to one marriage or the name of a certain child, whilst the other mentions another marriage, or the name of another child, each giving the particulars required for its own purpose.

The importance, for my present purpose, of recognizing these features of the trees depends upon the question of the presence or otherwise of sons, through whom might have passed the line of descent, which in fact passed through daughters; for it is obvious that in a case when there was no son the fact that the descent passed through a daughter must be ruled out of the evidence. This is why I have drawn attention in some cases to the evidence that there had been sons. It is improbable that there would be a number of successive genera-

tions of ancestors of a family in which the issue of the successive marriages did not include a son; and we are justified in recognizing this improbability in drawing deductions from the trees. I carry this argument further by saying that in several instances of successive generations of descents from mothers to daughters the only particulars given for each generation are the names of the mother and her husband and the daughter, the latter being the mother of the next generation. We cannot suppose that in each of these cases the only issue of each marriage was one daughter; it may be assumed that in many cases there were families of sons and daughters, not necessary for the trees, and in many instances not known to Krämer's informants—possibly because they were not necessary.

I intend therefore to assume that we have in these trees evidence of a number of cases in which descent passed through daughters, and again through their daughters, notwithstanding the fact that there were sons available as transmitters of the family line, even in many of the instances where this latter fact is not proved, and it is noticeable that in the majority of these cases these matrilineal descents took place long ago, the last of the series having been ten or more generations ago. If the evidence merely pointed to a number of scattered and isolated instances of the passing of the line of descent through women, I should attach no importance to it—not perhaps even if these instances were fairly numerous. What I regard as specially significant is these series of successive descents from mother to daughter, which do seem to suggest definite survivals of a system of matrilineal descent.

It was the custom in Samoa to distribute mats on the death of the previous titular chief; these death mats were called *ie o le langi*—the mats of heaven—and were handed out to all the servants of the dead man. Krämer says the custom originated with king Ngalumalemana, a *tuiaana* who also held the position of *tafa'ifa*. He married a daughter of Tuimaleali'ifano Tuitalili, and had by her several children, including a son I'amafana and a daughter Letelemalanuola. The arrangement instituted by him was thus expounded by a Samoan. When an *aloali'i* [a name given to all the descendants of Ngalumalemana] dies, or a king, or a son of Tuimaleali'ifano, or a son of I'amafana —when one of these chiefs dies, there is made his *langi*. First a very beautiful fine mat is spread out as the *mea sa*, or sacred gift [meaning the mat which a brother brings to his sister] of

Letelemalanuola; for if a bad mat is brought, she is angry and says, "May all thy children die for this." When the mat is spread out, and the woman takes it, then only can the fine mats of heaven be handed out to all Samoa. This is the agreement, which all the kings have kept[1]. The special feature of this custom to which I wish to draw attention is that the distribution of death mats had to be preceded by the gift of a beautiful fine mat to the successor's sister. I doubt if Ngalumalemana was the originator of this custom, because the *tuiaana* family offers what appears to be another example of the same thing four generations earlier; this point is immaterial, but I will refer to the example as further evidence of the prevalence of the custom. Tuiaana Faumuina had three children, each by a different wife, viz. a son Fonoti, a daughter Samalaulu and a son Toleafoa[2]. After the death of their father, war broke out between the three children, Fonoti on the one hand striving to secure the four titles required to make him *tafa'ifa*, and his brother and sister resisting him. Krämer, after giving some prior details, provides the following Samoan statement of what the fighting was about. The narrator says, "When these things had come to pass, Fonoti and Toleafoa and Samalaulu fought; Toleafoa and Samalaulu were together; Fonoti was alone; it arose through the Pepeve'a [the name of a fine mat—all of the most celebrated mats had names], for Toleafoa was angry, because this was not brought to Samalaulu; for Fonoti would not. Then they waged war on each other"[3]. It will be seen that Fonoti's right to succession was being resisted by his brother and sister because of his refusal to give her the mat.

Krämer, in telling of the arrangement made by king Ngalumalemana concerning his son I'amafana and his daughter Letelemalanuola, draws attention in a foot-note to a recent example of the practice, in a modified form, of presentation by the proposed successor to his sister of a mat[4]. The history of the matter, as disclosed by an investigation of the pages of Krämer, was shortly as follows. Ngalumalemana had another son Taisi[5], who had a daughter Lamana. Malietoa ia Tia married this daughter and another woman. By this other woman he had a son Fitisemanu, and by Lamana he had a daughter Tuitofa[6]; these two were the brother and sister be-

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 29, 172 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 170 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 170 *sq.*, 203 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 29 *note* 5.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 172.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 245.

tween whose descendants the giving of the mat took place. Fitisemanu succeeded to his father's official title of Malietoa, and it afterwards passed down from father to son, until it became vested in Laupepa, the great-grandson of Fitisemanu, a man to whom the European powers gave the kingship of all Samoa, although he did not possess the Aana and Atua and other necessary titles, and so was not entitled to it[1]. Tuitofa had a son Sualavi, who for long was a claimant to this kingship, and very nearly got it, or at least the right to it[2]; and he had a grandson Fonoti[3]. For years the country was in a state of continued warfare in connection with the striving for power between these two families. Finally Laupepa died [in 1898]; and then occurred the giving of a mat, as stated by Krämer in a foot-note to the observation, already quoted, that "this is the agreement, which all the kings have kept." The following is the foot-note: "This was observed at the death of Malietoa Laupepa. The mat was brought to Fonoti...as the descendant of Tuitofa....The Malietoa family was here the brother, and the Tuimaleali'ifano family [that is, Fonoti's family] was the sister"[4]. I have not told the entire story, as disclosed in the account of Laupepa's funeral; there were other claimants, also members of the Malietoa family apparently, who had to be bought out with mats; but it appears that this ancestral sister's claim was the important one[5]. The only difference between this case and the two already quoted is that in this case the mat was given by a descendant of the brother to a descendant of the sister. Schultz, after saying that the Samoan law of inheritance rested upon the basis of relationship in the sense of agnation, says that all male persons descended on the male side from a common ancestor, the founder of the family, were called *tamatane* (male from male). Their cognates (male from female) were called *tamafafine tamasa*, or *tamafanau*, or *se'etalaluma* (*i.e.* he who holds the place of honour in the front part of the house), and only had their turn when no real *tamatane* was forthcoming. For the privilege which the *tamatane* had in the matter of inheritance, the *tamafafine* was to a certain extent compensated, in that, owing to the *feangainga* (bond) between brother and sister, certain honours must be conferred upon him by the *tamatane*; and this was expressed by the offering

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 245 *sq.*, 16, 213.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 188, 16, 213.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 188–9.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 29 *note* 5.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 106 *sq.*

of food-stuffs and mats on certain occasions[1]. The context, not quoted here, shows that Schultz uses the term "inheritance" in the sense that I am doing—and applies it mainly to land; so, as the family land passed with succession to the family title, we may apply his observations to succession. I point out that the present of mats to which Schultz refers was given by the male descendant of a brother to the male descendant of a sister. Schultz says that besides the compensation that was offered by the *tamatane* to the *tamafafine* as above stated, the *tamafafine* really exercised great influence in all family matters, owing to the Samoan superstition that the wrath of the sister or her descendants might bring disaster upon the family, and adds that in this way power was not infrequently brought to bear against well-grounded claims for inheritance[2].

Some more evidence as to mat-giving will be introduced and considered when dealing with the subject of special relationship matters.

Why was it that a chief, on succeeding to the official title of his predecessor, had to make a valuable present to his sister? I suggest that the custom was based upon the effect upon a system of patrilineal succession of a still lingering recognition of the right of succession involved by matrilineal descent—that he was buying from his sister the possible claims that her children might through her have to the succession; and I am encouraged to do this by the fact that I shall have to make a suggestion of a somewhat similar character, though different in form, with reference to Tonga. Of course, whichever the rules of descent were, he and she would belong to the same social group, so he would be just as eligible as she was as a successor. The question would arise on his death, when, under matrilineal descent, it would be her child, and not his, that would be a member of the social group, and so be eligible for the succession. Matrilineal descent thus involved the dominating importance of the sister, as distinguished from the brother, she being the person through whom the blood of their ancestors would be passed down to posterity, carrying with it the possibility of succession to the family title. The evolution of the system of patrilineal succession would, during the period of change, cause confusion of ideas, and it might be expected that a custom under which the succession passed to the brother and his descendants would leave open an idea of a possible claim by

[1] Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 51. [2] *Ibid.*

the sister on behalf of her descendants, the buying out of which was desirable. A mat, however valuable, would seem a small price to pay; but what had perhaps at one time approached more closely to the character of a business transaction may well have become reduced to a more or less formal present.

I may point out that apparently the obligation to give a mat was not necessarily confined to the case of the successor's own sister. The people seem to have recognized old claims of sisters of previous chiefs, which claims had passed down to the descendants of those sisters, and had to be met on the occasions of subsequent successions. I think this development of the custom tends to support my interpretation of the matter. An obligation for a man to give a present to his own sister might be associated with some special idea of direct relationship between certain living members of a family, and be in no way connected with possible rights based upon matrilineal descent; but when the family relationship between the giver and receiver of the gift is merely derived from a brother and sister relationship between their respective ancestors several generations back, I do not see how this could well be so; whilst my hypothesis offers an explanation with which the extension of the practice seems to be consistent. It may be that the continuance of these gifts only occurred occasionally when definite challenges were made.

It was customary for the families of chiefs, including the great titular chiefs, such as the *tuiaana*, *tuiatua* and Malietoa, to have, in addition to their own family names, what were called *sa'oaualuma* names. These were the names taken by their *taupou*, or village virgins, the daughters of the head chiefs who bore the family names, the leaders (*sa'o*) of the companies of girls (*aualuma*) of the villages; they were, according to Krämer, generally the names of famous women of the chief's family, and a daughter of a chief would take the name as soon as she was installed in the office of *taupou*. Krämer gives a list of the *sa'oaualuma* names of twenty-three families[1]. This curious custom is so suggestive of the importance which Samoan ideas attached to their women, that I have, by reference to genealogies and other sources of information, traced out the origin of a number of the *sa'oaualuma* names (I could not trace the rest) with the following results: I am not giving the *sa'oaualuma* names, as these can be referred to on pp. 32 and 33,

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 32 *sq.*

vol. I, of Krämer, and are unimportant for my present purpose.

Family	Person from whom the *sa'oaualuma* name was derived
Tuiaana	The daughter of the sister of the mother of *tuiaana* Tamalelangi—12 generations back. A very important woman to whom the priests of Nafanua offered the four titles required for that of *tafa'ifa*[1].
Tuiatua	Step-sister of *tuiatua* Tolangataua—18 generations back[2].
Malietoa	Sister of Malietoa Ae'o'ainu'u—6 generations back. Her descendants seem to have acted as kava chewers to the Malietoa[3].
Tuimanu'a	Sister of *tuimanu'a* Letama—12 generations back[4].
Samuangututia (Aana) ...	Daughters of sister of *tuiaana* Muangututia—6 generations back[5].
Satuala (Savai'i branch)...	Apparently a female holder of the name—5 generations back[6].
Tuimaleali'ifano (Aana)...	Sister of Tuitalili, holder of the title—7 generations back[7].
Lilomaiava (Aana) ...	Wife of Nailevaiiliili, holder of the title—7 generations back[8].
Salevalasi-Mata'afa (Atua)	Sister of Tago, holder of the name—7 generations back[9].
Saasomua (Tuamasanga)	Sister of Asomua, founder of the family—11 generations back[10].
Samoeleoi (Savai'i) ...	Sister of husband of female holder of name—12 generations back[11].
Tangaroa (Savai'i) ...	Sister of Toomata, holder of the title—8 generations back[12].
Sua (Savai'i)	Sister of Tolalepaialii, holder of the name—7 generations back[13].
Tonumaipe'a (Savai'i) ...	Sister of Nonuma'alo, holder of title—5 generations back[14].
Unutoa (Tutuila) ...	Sister of Unutoa, holder of the name—generation uncertain[15].

As regards my references in the above particulars to holders of titles and family names, I must explain that these may not

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 97, 169, 201 *sq.*, 243. We have seen that she and Tamalelangi were children of two sisters, and that she was actually living at Leulumoenga, the seat of government of Aana. Perhaps he regarded her as his own sister, which she was in the classificatory sense.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 292. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 244, 263 *note* 13. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 378 *sq.*
[5] *Ibid.* p. 171. [6] *Ibid.* p. 178. [7] *Ibid.* pp. 185, 188.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 185. [9] *Ibid.* p. 297. [10] *Ibid.* pp. 249, 252.
[11] *Ibid.* pp. 97, 101. [12] *Ibid.* p. 90. [13] *Ibid.* pp. 93 *sq.*
[14] *Ibid.* p. 99. [15] *Ibid.* p. 337.

all be correct. Krämer's genealogical tables include names of people through whom the succession of the titles had passed, even though they themselves had never held them, and it is not always easy to distinguish these. Nevertheless I am convinced that this inaccuracy can only apply to one or two cases, if any, and even in those cases the particulars do not entirely lose their interest. My observations following next must, however, be taken as being subject to this qualification.

It will have been noticed that in nearly every case the woman whose name had been adopted for the *sa'oaualuma* name of a family was the sister of a previous holder of the title or name; that is, she was, before his succession, the sister who might, under a lingering recognition of matrilineal descent and succession, have some ground for disputing on behalf of her child, his (her brother's) son's right to the succession on his death, and might, according to my suggested interpretation of the matter, require to be bought off by a special present of a valuable mat. The subsequent holder of this name was the *taupou*, or selected daughter of the chief, who assumed the name as soon as her official position was recognized. Krämer draws attention to the fact that the favoured son (that is the presumed successor) had no particular name during his father's lifetime, and contrasts his position with that of the *taupou*[1]. Each of these *taupou* would, according to the custom, be entitled to claim a special mat on the death of the chief and succession of her brother to the title. It seems possible, therefore, that the use by these families of what, from their connection with the *taupou* and their girl attendants, were called *sa'oaualuma* names may also have been connected with the idea of matrilineal descent; that is, they may have been regarded as what might be called the female names of the families, keeping up the recognition of the sister's claim, and this may have been their origin and significance. Perhaps Reinecke had this in mind when making the statement, referred to on a previous page, that highness of rank and pride in one's ancestors were transmitted by, and personified in the *taupou* by means of female descent.

Krämer tells of *tuimanu'a* Liatama who had a son Tama and a daughter Samalaulu. Tama, who was the next *tuimanu'a*, had a son Tuitu'u; Samalaulu had a son Tui. There seems to have been some rivalry between Tui'tu'u and Tui, because Tama made a "will," by which he directed the two young men to

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 32.

live peacefully and love each other, and gave the family name to both of them. Tui, Krämer tells us, was scarcely acknowledged during his cousin's lifetime, and even after Tuitu'u's death, his sister's son succeeded; but after this person's death the succession passed to Tui, as sole holder of the title[1]. All this may have been a dispute caused by a claim, based on matrilineal descent, by the son of the sister against the son of the *tuimanu'a* brother, to the right to succeed to the title of *tuimanu'a*, and which claim was anticipated by the *tuimanu'a* himself in his lifetime, and an arrangement made by him for compromising it.

Referring to the terrible curse which, according to the story told by Krämer, the sister of a descendant of Ngalumalemana would bestow upon her brother's children if he did not give her a sufficiently good mat, and the superstitious fear, of which Schultz speaks, of the wrath of the sister or her descendants, I may mention that a curious feature of the relationship between brother and sister was the great fear felt for the curse of the sister or one of her children. The curse of one of these was specially dreaded; it was supposed to produce barrenness in a woman or the death of children in the brother's family, and in case of serious illness special enquiry was made of them as to whether they had uttered a curse. The only way to ward off the effect of the curse was to propitiate the person who had uttered it; and then she or he would fill her or his mouth with water and spurt it over the sufferer[2]. Hood speaks of the sister's curse as the direst calamity which could befall a man[3], and other writers refer to the same subject, but I cannot discuss the question here. Why was it that the sister's curse was so peculiarly terrible? For the purpose of arriving at what seems to me to be a possible answer to this question, I must refer in advance to certain contentions which I shall raise in a later chapter. I shall suggest that the head of a family or other social group, the bearer of its name or title, was its natural priest (even though he might delegate his religious functions to departmental officials), into whom the tutelary god of the group was supposed to have entered, and who was in consequence closely in touch with that deity. He, with this divine connection, would obviously be peculiarly powerful in bringing

[1] *Ibid.* p. 378 and *note* 2.
[2] Brown, pp. 41, 224, 401. Cf. Stair, p. 180.
[3] Hood, p. 123.

good or evil to other members of the group by securing the help or anger of the god. There is, in point of fact, evidence of the destructive power of a father's curse[1]. Let us now recognize the possibility that the people had an idea, based upon old beliefs and customs, that perhaps it was really not the male head of the family into whom the god had entered, but his sister, it being through her, and not through him, that the family descent would pass to future generations; or at all events that she was, as the transmitter of the title, specially sacred. With a belief of this sort it is obvious that her curse would be specially feared. Stair, in classifying the different orders of priesthood, refers to the priests of families, and says that this office was sometimes held by the head of a family, or his sister[2]. Why was it his sister, specially, as distinguished from, say, one of his brothers? This singling out by Stair of the sister discloses an idea which is consistent enough with the suggestions I have been making; but otherwise it is difficult to account for it. I admit that my ideas on this subject are purely hypothetical; but at all events they offer a possible explanation of something which would otherwise be difficult to understand. The idea of the sanctity of the sister is also conveyed by the terms *mea sa* (sacred gift), to which I have already referred. Stair says that when a patient died, and his friends expostulated with the god for taking him away, the answer was sometimes that that god [? or the patient] had been overpowered by the *aitu* of the family on the mother's side[3]; which suggests that the conflict between matrilineal and patrilineal rights was conceived as extending to the gods.

Writers refer to the very great deference and respect which a man had to show to his sister. In some cases it is obvious that this only refers to sexual avoidance, and in others there is nothing to indicate that more than this is involved; a few of the statements, however, seem to carry the matter further. Several writers refer to the duties of brothers to protect their sisters; but this does not amount to much for our present purpose. Brown says that the privileges and powers of the sister and her children were very great, and the relationship between her and her brother seems to have been of a semi-

[1] Stuebel, p. 119. Cf. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 430, vol. II, p. 59; Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 201. According to Pratt's dictionary *manamatua* was the term for the supernatural power of a parent bringing a curse on a disobedient child.

[2] Stair, p. 222.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 224.

sacred character; indeed she and her children were regarded as sacred persons[1]; and he says, as we have seen, that this relationship continued as between her children and his children. A statement of this sort, made by a resident missionary, can hardly have referred to a mere matter of sexual avoidance. Krämer takes the matter further by saying that both her brother and his children treated her and her children with special politeness and submission[2].

Stuebel speaks of the bond of obligation between brothers and sisters; the brothers brought all the best things, objects of dress, food, including the heads of animals, to the sister, and she had great prerogatives over them; if she married, they offered the greatest respect to her husband[3]. As regards heads of animals, I may say that these were regarded as the most honourable portions. Von Bülow says that the respect which, according to Samoan custom, was paid by brothers, half-brothers, and cousins of different degrees of relationship, to sisters, half-sisters, aunts and cousins of different degrees of relationship, was based upon a law as to the relation between brother and sister and their respective descendants which exercised a special influence on the prosperity of men. The best of all was offered to the sister; the brother protected her; fulfilled her wishes with regard to toilet, clothing, dwelling and food; followed her counsel with respect to family matters, cultivation of land, and his personal acquaintances (*Umgang*), and her wishes, whether good or bad, were carried out. He gives as the reason for offering her the best of all his fear of her anger or that of her posterity, which would bring destruction on his children[4]; by which he is evidently referring to her curse. In illustration of this he refers to matters which have appeared in this book in connection with the peopling of Savai'i by the descendants of Lealali. I draw attention to the portion of these matters that relates to the brothers Lafai (or Laifai) and Fune and their father's sister Fotu, who, according to both Turner and von Bülow, was established between them to prevent them from quarrelling. Von Bülow says that Fune founded the village of Safune and other villages, whilst Lafai, who, as the elder, took over the government, called the village founded by him Sa-Fotu-Lafai, as a sign that he would only govern the descendants of Fotu in a sense (*im Sinne*). He also

[1] Brown, p. 41.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 477, 481.
[3] Stuebel, p. 89.
[4] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 140.

says that it was on the bond of relationship between brother and sister (evidently meaning the bond between the two men's father Va'asiliifiti and his sister Fotu) that was founded the influence which the descendants of Fotu (Safotu) exercised over the descendants of Lafai (Safotulafai) and Fune (Safune), and the sovereignty which Fotu (Safotu) in course of time extended all over Samoa[1]. According to another statement, Fotu and her sister Lenga, also mentioned above, and their descendants were given the right to give the casting vote (*Ausschlag*) in war and peace, and von Bülow ascribes this to the custom of accounting the rank of the mother higher than that of the father[2]. We thus see that, according to von Bülow, the prerogatives, which Brown suggests and to which Krämer and Stuebel refer, went a long way; and they were, according to Krämer and von Bülow, and probably Brown, exercised, not only by the sister over the brother, but by her descendants over his. We may compare with this Schultz's statement, referred to above, that the *tamafafine* exercised great influence in all family matters, by which he evidently means or includes those of the family of the *tamatane*. Both von Bülow and Turner agree that, according to legend, this paternal aunt of Lafai and Fune, was able in some way to keep them from fighting; and though this is only a legend, it would probably be consistent with Samoan ideas. Then von Bülow suggests a recognition of some sort of limitation, which I do not quite understand, of the power of a descendant of the brother to rule over the descendants of the sister. Von Bülow touches on the same subject in another way elsewhere. He says that in general only men had votes in the councils of the family; but it was permitted to the sister of the chief alone, and her posterity, to express their wishes, and the chief was by custom constrained to comply with the wishes of the sister and her posterity[3]. Stuebel also is apparently referring to the same practice when he says that land could not be given away by the head of the family, or him who bore the name, without his having first consulted his children, his family, and the children of his sister; for it was the custom that all such matters should be communicated to the children of the father's sister[4]. I point out that this might come under the rights, as against a man, of his sister's child. At a recent date (1890) a family in one of the Tonu-

[1] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 140. [2] *Ibid.* vol. LXXXI, p. 85.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. LXIX, p. 193. [4] Stuebel, *K.M.V.* vol. IV, p. 127.

maipe'a villages had been guilty of the double offence of cutting up and distributing a shark, without telling the head Tonumaipe'a chief, and of failing to bring in food for the chief's guests. The chief sent for "the old woman" to say what she would desire should be done. She came, investigated the facts, and pronounced sentence, under which the bulk of the property of the delinquents was destroyed[1]. We are not told who this old woman was; but it seems possible that we have here an example of the exercise of the feminine prerogatives which we have been discussing.

I have found no other statements as to these enormous powers held by a man's sister and her descendants. If they are correct, they seem to have a possible bearing upon our present subject. Kindness, respect and protection which had to be offered by a brother to a sister, are one matter; and manifestations of respect, suggesting an idea that she was a superior being, might be merely a matter of avoidance. But a right on her part to require him to treat her with submission and to follow her counsel in family matters, and a right to dominate the decisions of his family council, is a very different matter; and it is still more remarkable if this right passed down to her descendants and was exercised over his descendants, and could even produce the influence, and ultimate dominating position, indicated by the Savai'i tale. If all this is true, we must seek for an explanation; and here again I suggest that this might be found in matrilineal descent, with the consequent belief that it was into descendants of the sister, and not those of the brother, that the family god would enter more especially. Under patrilineal succession he and his descendants attained to the headship of the family; but the view involved by matrilineal descent put a good deal of controlling power into her hands and those of her descendants. Of course the process of reasoning which this suggestion involves is not exact, because the descendants of the sister should only be those in the female line; but the whole question is more or less inexact, because, I contend, of the mental confusion arising from the change of system.

Though, as I have said, I have found no further evidence of this great power of the sister, there are indications, pointing in the same direction, with reference to that important person, the *taupou* or village virgin, the daughter of the head chief.

[1] Stuebel, p. 157.

We shall see in a subsequent chapter that on an occasion of a *fono* of the chiefs, or a ceremonial performance (such as a kava party), held within the *faletele*, she was entitled to be present, and had her appointed place, though her brother, the probable successor to the title, had no right to be in the building; also she received her *sa'oaualuma* name immediately on her appointment as *taupou*, whereas her brother acquired no special name or title till his succession on the death of the reigning chief. Krämer says that a post in the *faletele* belonged to the *taupou*, as to a chief; indeed he suggests that the word *taupou* is connected with *pou* (post) and *tau* (owner)[1]; and Reinecke goes further in saying that she decided with the first chiefs as to public arrangements, and above all, matters concerning the female members of her sphere of power[2], by which he means, I presume, the village or area over which her father, the chief, ruled. These statements are, I think, in keeping with, and tend to support, von Bülow's information concerning the rights of a man's sister, in that they disclose a recognition of the special importance, and consequent rights and powers of a woman. The inexactitude involved in considering this matter is perhaps even greater than in the case of the rights of a man's sister; but here again I refer to the effect of the confusion of ideas which had arisen.

I have found another incidental illustration of the matter. Stuebel refers to the possible adoption as a son by a *tulafale*, or orator, of the son of a chief, and to the subsequent lavishness in gifts by the *tulafale* and his family to the chief. He refers to the possible nomination by the *tulafale* of this adopted son as his successor, and the succession of the latter. Then he says that if this man led a bad life, and was hard and cruel to the *tulafale's* family, he was driven away by the sisters of the *tulafale* and their children, the name was taken away from him, he was deprived of his succession, and had to return to his family[3]. Here again we have an example of an exercise of power, said to have rested specially with a man's sisters and their children, which is quite in harmony with the direct statements on the subject.

There was in Samoa a birth custom which seems to illustrate the doubts in the minds of the people on the question of descent. Immediately before the actual birth of the child

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 32 *note* 1.
[2] Reinecke, *Globus*, vol. LXXVI, p. 6.
[3] Stuebel, pp. 122 *sq.*

prayers were, according to Turner, offered first, as a rule, to the god of the father's family, and then, if the case was tedious or difficult, to that of the mother's family, and the child was specially associated with the god that was being supplicated at the moment of birth, becoming its *merda*, and during infancy being named as the *merda* of the god[1]. This statement appears, on the face of it, not to be very exact; but the inference seems to be that the selection of the child's god was a matter of chance[2]; and I think we may assume that the child would be associated more or less with the family of the parent with whose god he was connected. I find no evidence of any subsequent differentiation, as regards treatment and mutual rights and duties, between children of the same parents, according to the respective families with which they were so associated; but in one of the Manu'an legends we are told of a "will" made by two parents, as to what was to be done after their deaths, which bears upon the subject. The eldest son was to have the first share, and was to be the representative of his mother's family, and on days of work his brothers were to present him with offerings. All the other sons were to be of the male side, and each of them was enjoined to bring first-fruits to the eldest son as the representative of the female line[3]. I may point out that, even if this legend, of which the above extract forms part, had been a mere invention, an alleged arrangement of this sort would hardly be otherwise than in accord with a Samoan custom, past or present, universal or partial; and here we find that the child that was to represent the mother's side of the family was the eldest, got the first share, and was to receive offerings and annual first-fruits from each of the others.

Westermarck, after dealing with the subject of marriage by purchase[4] discusses the decay of the custom[5]. Concerning the latter subject, he suggests that the purchase money in some places became in time smaller and smaller, and in some cases took the form of more or less arbitrary presents. He says that another mode of preserving the symbol of sale was the receipt of a gift of real value, which was immediately returned to the giver; but that generally not the same, but another gift, was presented in return[6]. I do not know whether Westermarck's construction of these later customs has been generally accepted

[1] Turner, p. 79. [2] Cf. Turner, p. 17. [3] Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 202.
[4] Westermarck, chap XVII. [5] *Ibid.* chap. XVIII. [6] *Ibid.* p. 405.

by ethnologists; but if it has, I may point to certain somewhat similar customs that prevailed in Samoa in connection with birth. The subject is outside the scope of this book; but I may here say, broadly, that during the period of pregnancy, and perhaps after the birth, the family of the husband gave to the wife's family presents of pigs and other provisions, and perhaps other things, and that subsequently, after the birth, the wife's relatives gave to those of the husband presents of native cloth and mats. I do not know whether I am justified in suggesting that we may perhaps apply to this birth custom Westermarck's explanation of marriage customs, but if we do so, we may have here a relic of purchase of the child by the family of the husband from that of the wife; and this would involve the idea that the child was regarded as belonging to the wife's family, and not to that of the husband. I may refer, by way of comparison, to Williams's statement that in Fiji it was a common practice to name the first child after the man's father, and the second after the mother's father. In the first case, the friends of the man made the wife a present; and in the other, her friends offered a gift to the husband[1]. This practice might be based upon conflicting claims to the child by the families of the father and mother, the idea being that the family to which the child was treated as belonging had to make a payment of compensation to the other.

Turner, in speaking of the prevalent custom of adoption, says the general rule was for the husband to give away his child to his sister, and for the child to be adopted by her[2]. The child would thus be the offspring of a brother, and would be recognized as the child of his sister[3]; so a transaction of this sort would consolidate conflicting rights, and strengthen the claim of the child to succeed his father. Here again there was an interchange of gifts.

Fraser says that in Samoa a man, when he married, had to go and live in his wife's family, and work for them, being a veritable slave to his mother-in-law for a year; after which he and his wife went to their own home[4]. This was not, I think,

[1] Williams and Calvert, vol. I, p. 176. Codrington (p. 231) describes a Banks Island birth custom for the father to make a payment to the kinsmen of the mother, which he regards as intended to meet their claim to the child.

[2] Turner, p. 83.

[3] An adopted child was regarded as belonging to the social group into which it was adopted.

[4] Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxv, p. 83 *note* 8. Cf. Brown, pp. 42 *sq.*

the practice so far as the chiefs were concerned; so I suppose Fraser must be referring to a lower or middle class custom. A practice for a newly-married couple to live with the wife's people is, I think, commonly associated with matrilineal descent; but in that case we should expect them to remain there more or less permanently, and not for a year only. Possibly a poor man might live with and work for his wife's people by way of payment for the wife[1]. Any such system as is reported by Fraser might, perhaps, be based on either or both these ideas. If it was a question of labour, the custom would not be applicable to chiefs; but also if it was one of matrilineal descent, it might be that the old system had hung on rather more tenaciously among the lower classes, among whom succession to the family name, and the paternal rights which had evolved in connection with it, was not so important.

TONGA

In Tonga, according to Mariner, nobility depended upon relationship to the *tuitonga* or the *hau*[2], that was in effect upon relationship to one of the three great ruling families of Tongatabu. In every family nobility descended by the female line, children acquiring their rank by inheritance from the mother's side, for where the mother was not noble, the children were not nobles, but all the children of a female noble were, without exception, nobles[3]. If a noble woman was the wife of a *matabule*, her superiority to him in rank passed to her children, male and female; but in domestic matters she submitted to his arrangements[4]. If a man, however high his rank, married a woman of the *tua* class, and they had a child, that child would not be a noble, though it were known that the father was a noble; but if a noble woman had a child by a *tua* man, the child would be a noble[5]. Veeson says family dignity descended from the mother; and he refers to the case of a chief whose children were of different ranks and dignity according to the ranks of their respective mothers[6]. Home says that the highest rank was derived from the mother[7]. According to West, rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly through women[8]. Pritchard says that in Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga, social political rank was

[1] Cf. Frazer, *T. & E.* vol. I, p. 72.
[2] Mariner, vol. II, p. 88.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 89, 98.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 95.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 98.
[6] Veeson, p. 94.
[7] Home, p. 582.
[8] West, p. 260.

regulated by the grade of the mother rather than that of the father[1]. The French missionaries say that in Tonga rank was hereditary through women[2]. Bays tells us that the children ranked in life according to the rank of their mothers, and exemplifies this by saying that the eldest son of a principal wife would succeed to the rank of his father, or even perhaps higher to that of his maternal grandfather[3]. Thomson refers to a recent example of a man who was, through his mother, a great chief, though his father was only a chief of second rank[4].

I have quoted these writers separately and fully in order to secure the full cumulative effect of their evidence. It is clear, I think, that they are all referring to what I am calling "descent." I think Bays's suggested alternative perhaps points to a confusion of ideas, based on the son's succession to the official rank of his father, whilst the social rank, which would descend to him through his mother, might be higher than the other. So far as definite statements are concerned, the evidence of a survival of a system of matrilineal descent in Tonga is fuller and stronger than in Samoa, though our small knowledge of Tonga does not enable me to refer, as I do for Samoa, to a number of miscellaneous practices which may, according to my views, have had their origin in a recognition of matrilineal descent. There are, however, a few matters to which I will draw attention.

Mariner's statement that every Tongan chief paid the greatest respect to his eldest sister, which he showed by never entering the house in which she lived[5], might well have referred merely to brother and sister avoidance, but for his confinement of this great respect to the case of the eldest sister. I have already drawn attention to some significant customs in Samoa, and have suggested that a special sanctity and importance seemed to attach itself there to a sister, and that this was perhaps based on the idea that under the rule of matrilineal descent transmission to future generations of the family rank of blood had fallen upon her, and not upon the brother. It is possible that some such idea as this is involved in the special respect shown to the eldest sister in Tonga.

I have suggested that the need for a present of a mat which in Samoa had to be given by a chief to his sister on his succession,

[1] Pritchard, p. 393. [2] Père A. C., p. x. [3] Bays, pp. 135 *sq.*
[4] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 96. [5] Mariner, vol. II, p. 135.

was based on, or had its origin in, the idea of buying from her the claim which her descendants might have to the subsequent succession, on the ground that it was to them, and not to the children of the chief then succeeding, that the descent of the blood rank and social membership of the family would pass under a system of matrilineal descent. I draw attention, with reference to this subject, to a statement by d'Urville that it was the custom, during the ceremony of inauguration, on the death of a *tuitonga*, of his son as the new *tuitonga*, for the *tuitonga fafine*—that is, the sister of the new *tuitonga*—to go to a neighbouring fountain, attended by four or five of her women, "to purify herself"[1]. Why had she to do this? The subject of taboo cannot be discussed in this book; but I may say that it seems to have involved a confusion of ideas which included both sanctity and impurity, almost as though they meant, or were forms of, the same thing. I believe that on the inauguration of a chief—the passing to him of the family title—it was supposed that the tutelar god of the family passed, as it were, in a way, into or became immanent in him, or that he became closely associated with the god, and he so became the natural high priest of the family; a certain sanctity was thus transmitted to him as holder of the title which he did not before possess. Water or oil, applied by bathing, anointing or sprinkling, formed, apparently, in parts of Polynesia a medium or conductor by which a taboo of sanctity or impurity could be transmitted into a person, or taken out of him. It is here that a possible explanation of this purification ceremony, as it is called, by the sister may, I think, be found. In Samoa, sprinkling or anointing with coconut water, or perhaps sometimes ordinary water, was an important part of the ceremony on the inauguration of a chief; but it was also, according to Krämer, a method of taking a taboo off anything, and, among other things, taking away a chief's title[2]. Stair also refers to this use for the purpose of taking away a title, and gives as an example an occasion, on which it was so used in the case of a chief who had been killed, and whose body was sprinkled with coconut water with a demand, addressed to the body, to "give us back our *ao*" [title], by which means, he says, the title was recalled, and the sacredness attached to it was dispelled[3].

[1] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 109.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 209 *note*, 479.
[3] Stair, p. 128. Cf. Stair, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 127.

Now, as regards the inauguration of a new *tuitonga* on the death of his predecessor, the title with its sanctity would pass to him on his inauguration; but, owing to the confusion arising from the continuance, in a certain degree, of the system of matrilineal descent, with the matrilineal succession which would properly accompany it, notwithstanding the development of a system of patrilineal succession, the idea might prevail that on the death of the newly-appointed *tuitonga*, the person to whom the sanctity would more properly pass, and who would be the person who ought to succeed him, would be, not his own son, but the son of his sister. There would be a doubt as to the religious qualification of his own son, which might involve a possible flaw in his title, and this could be removed by the sister ridding herself of any superior sanctity she might have, and which would otherwise pass to her descendants, by the process of bathing, which would be correctly spoken of as purification[1]. I do not know whether this suggested explanation of the matter will be accepted as being probably or possibly correct; but if it is so, we have an example of an important ceremonial practice whose origin is to be found in a system of matrilineal descent[2].

Monfat says of the *tuikanokubolu* Tukuaho, whose name has appeared in previous pages, that when his father died Tukuaho ought to have allowed his paternal aunt to inherit the power, "according to the customs of the country"[3]. Now this may have no bearing upon our present subject; but it is possible that it has such. With matrilineal descent Tukuaho would not belong to his father's family, and so would not be eligible for the holding of its title; but his father's sister, and her son after her, would be eligible, and that may have been the reason why she should have succeeded. A mere fact that the aunt was eligible among others would mean nothing, but it is suggested that she had what seems to have been a prior right. This case

[1] The chief who was being inaugurated and his sister would belong to the same family. Therefore there would be no need to protect him against claims by her. The ceremony would be intended to protect his descendants from claims by hers.

[2] The Rev. John Roscoe found a custom among the Bahima people of Central Africa, on a death, for the dead man's sister to be purified by the head of the clan, and for her to purify her brother, before he could inherit (*Man*, vol. xx, p. 21); and in reply to my enquiry, Mr Roscoe told me that the purification was effected by sprinkling of water, mixed with white clay; and that the sister, as a return for this, took some of the property. It is possible that the idea involved in this is somewhat similar to that which I am suggesting.

[3] Monfat, *Tonga*, p. 20.

is not identical with the situation I have suggested concerning the *tuitonga*, because here it was the sister herself, and not her son, who ought, it is said, to have succeeded on the death of her brother; I may say as to this, however, that in the *tuitonga* case I might have included the sister herself as a possible successor on her brother's death, but avoided doing so, because it was not the custom to have a female *tuitonga*. Also, with matrilineal descent the sister herself would have no better claim than another brother.

SOCIETY ISLANDS

The bulk of our information as to, or touching, the question of matrilineal descent in the Society Islands comes from Tahiti. Moerenhout, who apparently applies the title *ari'i* to the great chiefs only, distinguishing the minor chiefs by the term *tavana*[1], says that if a daughter who was the only scion of a noble family married a man who was not the son of a principal chief, a son born of the marriage immediately took the title of *ari'i*; and that, when the father was only a subordinate chief, and the mother belonged to the high aristocracy, then she was regent[2]. This is probably a case of succession at birth; but I think it involves the proposition that the mother's high nobility of family rank descended to the son, notwithstanding the inferior rank of the father. De Bovis says that in Tahiti women bore in themselves, apparently, a degree of nobility superior to that of the other sex. Then, taking the case of a royal lady, he says that if she had a child by an unknown father, this child was as royal as if he had counted a long suite of kings in his genealogy, and that if the father was notoriously a man of the lowest class of the people, that damaged the child a little, but he remained a prince; and there was something like this among the inferior caste. On the other hand, if a prince made a *mésalliance*, the children born of that union had no right to the privileges or the position of their father, and only inherited a mixed position, in proportion, it is true, to the power of the father; de Bovis attributes the origin of the intermediate class to marriages of this sort. He gives as an example the case of Tamatoa, king of Ra'iatea, the direct descendant of the royal line of this holy island, to whom all the princes of the archi-

[1] Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 9. The word *tavana* seems to have been merely a corruption of the English word "governor"; but this point is not important here.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 11 (*note*).

pelago claimed to be related, without which they would not be princes. This great king married a woman of the lowest class; and his children by her, though they had almost all made princely alliances, only belonged to the intermediate nobility, and none of them could have succeeded their father[1]. He says a woman, in generation, conferred a higher degree than a man could transmit[2], by which he means, I imagine, that a woman could pass her rank to her child notwithstanding the inferiority of its other parent, whilst a man could not do this. These statements suggest some recognition of a system of matrilineal descent.

I must say, with reference to de Bovis's statements, that women of the chiefs' class did not, I think, as a rule, have connection with low-class men, and that, if a chief had connection with a low-class woman, the child would probably be killed (see below). There may have been exceptions, but the evidence must not, I think, be regarded as pointing to frequency of such very unequal marriages. This does not, however, destroy its value so far as the main question we are considering is concerned.

Ellis says that if a matrimonial connection took place between one of the *ari'i* class [that of chiefs] with a person of an inferior order [this does not necessarily mean of the lowest class; it might be a minor chief or *ra'atira*], then, unless a variety of ceremonies was performed at the temple, by which the inferiority was supposed to be removed, and the parties made equal in dignity, all the offspring of such a union were invariably destroyed to preserve the distinction of the reigning families[3]. This statement, taken by itself, might include cases in which either the husband or the wife was superior in rank; but Ellis also says that if the rank of the mother was inferior to that of the father, the children, whether male or female, were destroyed; but if the mother originally belonged to the *ari'i* class, or had been raised to it, she was regarded as a queen[4]; as to this he says nothing of any ceremonial method of removing the inequality. I fancy that Ellis means, not only that the children of an inferior mother were killed, but that there was perhaps a differentiation of some sort in the custom if she was of the chief class. I do not think we must assume too much from this apparent differentiation; but if the evidence is

[1] De Bovis, pp. 244 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 255.
[3] Ellis, vol. III, pp. 98 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 99.

correct it indicates an incurable objection to the retention of children arising perhaps only where the mother was of the inferior class, and is intelligible enough on the assumption of a recognition of matrilineal descent. The children of a marriage would be regarded as the family of the husband and wife; but with some continuance of matrilineal descent they would be regarded as belonging to her social rank rather than to his. If the wife was, say of the chief class, and the husband was, say a *ra'atira*, there would not be so much harm in the matter, as the children of the marriage would be of the chief class, but some ceremony might be adopted to adjust matters; but if the husband was the chief and the wife of the *ra'atira* class, the situation would be grave, because the children would be of the lower class, and nothing but their destruction would cure the matter.

I do not know what were the ceremonies to which Ellis refers, but I may say that he tells us elsewhere that in cases of unequal marriages there was a custom to kill the children of the marriage one after another, by which the parent of inferior birth was *progressively* [my italics] raised in rank, and so reached a point of equality with the other parent, after which their offspring were allowed to live[1]. If this practice was identical in all cases of disparity of rank, great or small, in which either the father or the mother was the inferior, there seems to be some confusion in Ellis's evidence. But if, on the other hand, as is possible, the number of children to be killed, in order to remove the inequality in rank, was less when the wife was the superior than when the husband was so, the importance of the matter being less in the former case than in the other, then further light is thrown upon the subject. Ellis, according to my interpretation of his probable meaning, says that if it was the mother who was inferior, then all the children had to be killed; but if the inferior spouse was the father, this could be avoided by a ceremony at the temple, and I associate this latter statement with his reference to the killing of children —not all of them, but progressively until the inequality was removed. Williams says that if a woman of rank was united to a man of inferior grade the destruction of two, four or six infants was required to raise him to an equality with her; and that when this had been effected, the succeeding children were spared[2]; and he refers to a case of a chief woman married to

[1] Ellis, vol. I, p. 256.

[2] Williams, p. 565.

a man of inferior rank, and in which, after one child had been killed, a second and third were put to death on the insistence of the mother and her relatives, in spite of the opposition of the father[1]. Williams, however, says nothing of any system of progressive killing of some only of the children in a case where the inferior spouse was the mother. Ellis describes a method of removing inequality of rank of the parents at the marriage ceremony. Having told us of a rite performed first by the relatives of the bride, and then by those of the husband, he refers to a further performance, which sometimes occurred, and in which it is clear the relatives of both husband and wife took part. The female relatives cut their faces and brows with an instrument set with sharks' teeth, receiving the flowing blood on a piece of native cloth, and deposited the cloth, sprinkled with the mingled blood of the mothers of the married pair, at the feet of the bride. By this act any inferiority of rank that might have existed was removed, and not only were the husband and wife considered equal, but the two families to which they respectively belonged were ever afterwards regarded as one[2]. It is not clear from the account whether this ceremony was performed by the mothers only or by other female relatives also; but the fact that it was the women's blood only that was required to produce the desired equality of the pair, and amalgamation of their respective families, suggests at once that it was only the female blood that mattered, or had once been regarded as mattering; and such an idea may, I think, be associated with a system, past or continuing, of matrilineal descent.

In the Society Islands, as in Samoa, the question of descent seems to have been in a state of flux and uncertainty, for Moerenhout says that the children would be regarded, as from birth, as belonging to either the father or the mother; and in case the parents afterwards separated, the children would go to one or the other according to what had been so arranged[3]. We see this uncertainty reflected in the legend of the origin of the name of the Teva group, told on a previous page. Here the shark god told the Vaiari chieftainess that he was of the race of *ari'i rahi*, or great chiefs, and that if her child by him turned out to be a girl, she was to belong to her, and take her name, but if it was a boy, he was to be called Teva, and a *marae* was to be built for him.

[1] Williams, pp. 563 *sq.* [2] Ellis, vol. I, p. 272.
[3] Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 63 *sq.*

I have quoted de Bovis's statement that a Tahitian woman bore in herself, apparently, a degree of nobility superior to that of the other sex. Ari'i Taimai says that perhaps the most decisive part of every head chief's influence was his family connections. Nowhere was marriage of greater political and social importance than in Tahiti[1]. The importance of matrimonial alliances with people of high birth and ancestry seems to have been widely spread in Polynesia, nowhere more so, perhaps, than in Samoa; and its presence does not in itself point to any belief that it was through the woman, and not the man, that the ancestral blood of a family was passed down to subsequent generations. We have, however, one or two reasons for thinking that in Tahiti it was the women, rather than the men, who strove and intrigued for the family glory and status; and unless we are to suppose that women there were naturally more ambitious than men—which may or may not have been the case—we are left to speculate whether this may not have had its origin in the idea that the offspring of a marriage was primarily that of the woman, rather than of the man. We have seen that it was a woman who broke the *rahui* instituted by the victorious Tavi on behalf of his son. Then, when Amo and Purea proposed a general *rahui* and erected a great *marae* for their son, there was an opposition, referred to by Ari'i Taimai in the words "This was more than Purea's female relations could bear, and it set society into a ferment." It must be remembered that Ari'i Taimai was a Tahitian princess, looking at the matter through Tahitian eyes; and that being so, we are justified in believing that it was the female relations more especially who were the active opponents. In point of fact we see this in the account of what took place, for in each of the two attempts to break the *rahui* it was a woman who tried to do it, and the fights were between them and Purea, and afterwards the initiative in the breaking up of the great inauguration feast seems to have been taken by a woman. As regards the Papara chiefdom, Ari'i Taimai speaks from time to time of the struggles in which it was engaged, and all through her book she treats Purea as the person primarily concerned, and seems to regard the development of power from the point of view of its concentration in her, her husband Amo being apparently regarded as relatively unimportant. So also as regards the Pomares, she says that Tetuanui (Iddeah), the wife of Pomare I, who with her brother had won all

[1] Ari'i Taimai, p. 10.

Pomare's victories, was the real brain and energy of the Pomare party[1]. I do not attach undue importance to this question of female political activities; taken by itself, it would be valueless, but I think it worth while to draw attention to it.

HERVEY ISLANDS

In Mangaia, according to Gill, and perhaps elsewhere in the Hervey group—I am not clear concerning his meaning as to this —after cutting the navel string of a newly born infant, the blood was then washed out with water, and the name of the child's god was declared, it having been settled previously by the parents whether the child should belong to the mother's tribe or the father's. Usually the father's had the preference; but occasionally, when the father's family was devoted to furnish sacrifices, the mother would seek to save her child's life by getting it adopted into her own tribe, the name of her own tribal divinity being pronounced over the babe. As a rule, however, the father would pronounce over his child the name of his own god, Utakea, Teipe or Tangiia, which would almost certainly insure its destruction in after years, though it might escape. The bamboo knife used for the operation would be taken to the *marae* of the god specified and thrown on the ground to rot; but if a second god's name were pronounced over the child the bamboo knife would go to one *marae*, and the name of the babe only be pronounced in the second *marae*[2]. Usually the woman gave up one child at least to her own tribe, the rest going to the father's tribe[3]. Families of certain defeated tribes were recognized as the sources from which human victims were to be obtained, and it is to these that the statement refers. Gill gives an example of a case in which the family of the mother, to whom it had been arranged that the child should belong, was the sacrificial family and the father broke his promise to his wife, and had the child dedicated to his own god, and so, apparently, saved its life[4]. I think that we are in this matter dealing with a question of descent rather than of succession, in which case the evidence is that descent was regarded as being mainly patrilineal, but that it was not entirely so, and that among other things it might for reasons be recognized in any specific case as being either matrilineal or patrilineal.

[1] Ari'i Taimai, p. 131.
[2] Gill, *Myths*, pp. 36 *sq.* Cf. Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 136; *S.P.N.G.* p. 14.
[3] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 14.
[4] Gill, *Myths*, p. 37

Gill says that throughout the islands of the Hervey group it was common for chiefs to marry slaves, and the children inherited the status and property of their father[1]. Then again he says—I am not sure whether he is speaking of the group or only of Mangaia—that the pet daughter of a chief often married into an inferior or fallen tribe, the parent intending thereby to swell the ranks of his own warriors by the welcome addition of this inferior or unlucky clan, and in times of peace this servile son-in-law had to be at the beck and call of his father-in-law[2]; and again, when a chief had only a daughter, and that daughter was married, by his arrangement, to a man of inferior (*i.e.* slave) rank, the husband lived with her on the land given to her for their mutual support, and in all points she ruled the household and lands[3]. Generally slaves [he means slave husbands], married into a victorious clan, were content to follow its fortunes, but there were exceptions to the rule. When dying, mothers of rank would commend their children to the chiefs of their own tribe, the slave fathers having no voice whatever concerning their own offspring. The filial instinct, however, often led these children to endeavour to restore the fallen fortunes of the father's conquered clan[4].

The question arises how are we to interpret, as regards their combined meaning, Gill's references to "slaves," "inferior or fallen tribe," "inferior or unlucky clan," "inferior (*i.e.* slave) rank," "slave fathers." A defeated tribe, or clan, or whatever else Gill may call it—he apparently uses the terms throughout his books as being interchangeable—was undoubtedly in a very unpleasant position as between itself and its conquerors; but the question is whether the men whom daughters of victorious chiefs married would presumably be chiefs, or middle class men, or common people, or might be either. I am unable to answer this question, except by saying that, whilst it is unlikely that a low class man would be selected as a husband, I should not expect that a chief of any position, as distinguished from—say a middle class man—would, even if defeated, occupy the very servile position suggested; but I do not say it is impossible, and it is, I believe, a part of the system of matrilocal marriages generally—not associated with defeat in war—that the husband had to render services to his wife's family; whether the question of the rank of the husband

[1] Gill, *Jottings*, p. 119 *note* 3.
[2] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 13.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 14.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 16.

was or was not regarded as an important point, there seems to have been, so far as these war marriages were concerned, a custom such as might be associated with matrilineal descent; and the position of the husband after the marriage would, as I understand the matter, be so also. I do not, however, think that we should jump to any general conclusions on the subject of descent merely from these customs, based upon victory and defeat in war.

Moss does not suggest that he is referring to marriages between women of victorious tribes and men whose tribes had been defeated when he says that in Rarotonga, if a daughter married, she entered her husband's family if of the same island; but if the husband was of a different island he might be taken into the wife's family during her life, and would be allowed to remain there after her death if she had so directed in her lifetime[1]. Whatever Moss may mean by a different island, in speaking of Rarotonga, his point may be broadly that the husband might come to the wife's family if he was a stranger; and this might perhaps be interpreted as meaning that he could do so if the marriage was regarded by the people as being exogamous. May we not then regard this practice as having perhaps been based on a system of matrilineal descent?

MARQUESAS

Des Vergnes, after describing a very extensive system of adoption in the Marquesas, by which children passed out of the custody of their parents, and went to a third person, generally—he says—a stranger[2], tells us that the child would, later on, know quite well who his real mother was[3]. Then again he says that this transfer of a child from one family to another which became his, did not prevent the natives from recognizing their brothers and sisters, but in this case it was a question of those born of the same mother. The father hardly counted, and for good reason, in the real family life. He was only named with a certain hesitation, and with the use of this corrective, "My mother had me when she was with so and so"[4]. Von den Steinen, after referring to the endless genealogies of the Marquesans[5], says that the list of ancestors was called *mata*[6],

[1] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 23.
[2] Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, pp. 714 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 716.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 717.
[5] Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. XXV, p. 502.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 503.

and tells us that the genuine *mata* was always that of the mother, and was called "inner," "bodily." If the last daughter was childless, the *mata* died out, and it also naturally came to an end when there were yet sons together with the last childless daughter[1].

I should not attach much importance to des Vergnes's statement, taken by itself; but that of von den Steinen indicates that, whatever may have been the Marquesan views of descent, it was only the matrilineal line that was recorded in the "genuine" *mata*. Matrimonial matters cannot be discussed here; but I will quote shortly a few statements which explain the "good reason" for not counting the father in the real family life. It was rare for a man to have more than one wife, but there was not a woman who did not belong to several men at the same time, with the consent of the nominal husband. The person who shared the wife was generally a brother, a relation or a friend, and sometimes there were several of them[2]. In rich families every woman had two husbands, of whom one might be called the assistant husband; and the latter, when the other was at home, was nothing more than the head servant of the house, but in case of absence, exercised all the rights of matrimony[3]. The daughter of a chief, inheriting titles and rank, might take several consorts, of whom one was superior to the rest[4]. Some women had several husbands[5]. A woman chose a man who would be her husband for a more or less limited time; it was she who enjoyed the privileges of the harem[6]. Immediately a man married, he acquired marital rights over all the sisters of his wife, which did not prevent them themselves from marrying also; and all the brothers of a husband acquired the right to use his wife[7]. I could quote several other statements to an effect the same as, or similar to, one or other of those given above; but I think the latter are sufficient to indicate the extreme difficulty with which an effort to establish the paternity of a child must have been attended.

It seems to me that the evidence points, not only to the survival of an archaic system of matrilineal descent in a condition of decay, but to actual continuing social customs some-

[1] *Ibid.* p. 504.
[2] Du Petit-Thouars, vol. II, p. 360.
[3] Lisiansky, p. 83. Several other writers refer to this custom.
[4] Mathias, pp. 102 *sq.*
[5] Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 613.
[6] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 287.
[7] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VI, p. 644.

what similar in character to those in which matrilineal descent is generally supposed to have had its origin.

ROTUMA

In Rotuma the husband very generally, though by no means universally, came to live with his wife, the children belonging to her. This, like adoption, was a method of recruiting the *hoang*[1]. It was the duty of a girl to attract a man who would enter her *hoang*; but in cases of great chiefs, or owners of family names, or when men belonged to a rich *hoang*, the girl would enter his *hoang*[2]. When a wife died in the *hoang*, if the husband did not belong to it, as the corpse was carried out through one door of the house, he was pushed out of another, signifying that he had no right to it[3]. This seems to point to a system of matrilocal marriage, such as is commonly associated with matrilineal descent.

NIUE

Thomson says of the inhabitants of Niue that the people seemed to be in a transition state between partiarchy and matriarchy. A grown son succeeded to his father's house and land; but daughters appeared to have greater claims upon their maternal uncle. Though these claims were universally recognized, there was nothing approaching the right of the Fijian *vasu*[4]. In this case the son, though he succeeded to his father's house and land, which means that he succeeded to the title, would, under matrilineal descent, have just as great a claim against his mother's brother as would his sisters; but this succession to the paternal title might well so far identify him with his father's family as to make his relationship to the maternal uncle less noticeable than that of his sisters, and perhaps his brothers, if he had any.

TOKELAU

Lister was told that in the island of Fakaofo a man went to live with his wife's people[5].

[1] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 485.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 478.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 485.
[4] Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, p. 143. Cf. Thomson, *S.I.* p. 136.
[5] Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. xxi, p. 54.

ELLICE ISLANDS

There is no direct evidence on the question of matrilineal descent in the Ellice Islands. Hedley says that in Funafuti matriarchal rule prevailed over patriarchal[1], a statement which, taken by itself, may have more than one meaning; but he adds that a bridegroom left his father's house to join his wife's family, sometimes two sisters and their husbands sharing a hut[2], and Mrs David says it was the custom for a daughter and her husband to live with her mother until the combined families became too large for the hut, when they were separated[3].

BUKABUKA

There is a solitary statement that in Bukabuka or Danger Island people reckoned their "descent" from the mother's side[4]. Probably the word adopted was used with the meaning which I am giving to it; but even if used with the meaning of my "succession," this would point to descent.

MELANESIAN ISLANDS

I have among my notes a few scattered references which suggest matrilineal descent in some of the islands, whose people were more or less Polynesian, in Melanesia; but it does not seem necessary to introduce these here.

[1] Hedley, p. 53.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Mrs David, p. 167.
[4] *J.P.S.* vol. XIII, p. 173.

CHAPTER XVII

EXOGAMY

PRELIMINARY

I PROPOSE to introduce into the discussion of exogamy evidence which evidently, or possibly, merely points to regulations or customs intended to avoid incest, or based upon questions of convenience, because it is in some cases difficult, and even impossible, to say under which category must be placed the practice to which the evidence apparently points.

I presume that the prevalence of a classificatory system of relationship in Polynesia is presumptive evidence of exogamy in the past[1].

SAMOA

Turner says that considerable care was taken to prevent any union between near relatives; so much so that a list of what they deemed improper marriages would almost compare with the "Table of kindred and affinity." Custom and the gods had, of old, frowned upon the union of those in whom consanguinity could be closely traced. Few had the hardihood to run in the face of superstition; but if they did, and their children died at a premature age, it was sure to be traced to the anger of the household god on account of the forbidden marriage[2]. Brown differentiates between family life in Samoa and in Melanesia; but says it is not difficult to mark the survival of the old Melanesian conditions in the family life of modern Polynesians. In Samoa, so far as he knows, we have only the traces of the old exogamous divisions and matriarchal descent; but it is in his opinion certain that they had existed in the past[3]. The only matter to which he refers as evidence of a past system of exogamy is the semi-sacred character of the relationship of the sister and her family to her brother and her brother's children[4].

There is some detailed evidence as to Samoan matrimonial restrictions. Schultz, speaking of impediments based on rela-

[1] Cf. Frazer, *T. and E.* vol. II, p. 178.
[2] Turner, p. 92. Cf. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 628.
[3] Brown, p. 39. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 40 *sq.*

tionship, says that the degree was not fixed. If the common origin lay so far back that the relationship was almost forgotten, the marriage was no longer regarded as illegal. "The reason of the impediment is on account of the holiness of the relationship of brother to sister, which was *feangainga*, or also *ilamutu*, and affects the issue of both sides; on the other side, the opinion that brothers and their issue, likewise sisters and theirs, should be regarded as one body (*tino e tasi*)"[1]. Then he says that "marriage is forbidden (*a*) between the wife's brother and the husband's sister when the man and his wife are dead, or finally separated, and leave no children. If there are children, they are regarded as brothers and sisters of their father's sister or their mother's brother, and thus form again by the *feangainga* an impediment, their uncle and their aunt. For a like reason, marriage is forbidden (*b*) between the descendants of a wife's brother and those of her husband's sister. If, however, the marriage forming the impediment was so long before that the relationship is almost forgotten, marriage is allowed in this case also. (*c*) Between husband's brother and wife's sister. Whilst the impediments just mentioned [I imagine he means (*a*) and (*b*)] resemble *impedimenta diximentia* of the canonical terminology, this one can be described as *impedimens tantum* in Samoan: *e te matua sa*, *'a e te onomea*—("It is not strictly forbidden but is not regarded as right"). The reason is that brothers and likewise sisters are *tino e tasi*. The impediment exists only so long as the marriage exists. Even by continuance of marriage it lapses if there are no children by it, and both families agree to it. The intention is that the childless pair shall adopt the expected children. The reverse of this takes place when the deceased husband's brother marries the deceased wife's sister for the purpose of adopting the orphans. The widower may marry his deceased wife's sister; the widow her deceased husband's brother. Both cases often occur at the wish of the dying parent in order to secure loving treatment for the children. Such wishes do not constitute a command, although often complied with from superstitious reasons"[2].

According to von Bülow, marriage between relatives was regarded as a violation of Samoan usage. Such a breach was not punished by the village community, but it was so by the

[1] Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 49. The portion given in inverted commas, which seems in part incomplete, is quoted correctly as worded.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 49 *sq.*

families concerned; the man would be excluded from the family community for ever, or until he dissolved the marriage, and during the period of his excommunication he would lose the protection of the family, the right of inheritance, and the right to use the land of the family and its products; the girl lost the right to her *sanga*, or dowry of fine mats. They regarded as relations the family relations of all the families that bore the same name; the relations of the father; of the wives of the father; the children, brought in marriage, of the parents by other marriages and their relations; the family relations of the bondsmen, if there were any, as for instance families which were united in alliance with the father through voluntary contract, or were under his protection. It was believed that children born of marriages between relations were possessed of peculiar physical and spiritual qualities[1].

According to Stuebel, a man might not marry the daughter of his father's sister, for they had the same descent on the father's and mother's side and were called brother and sister. This statement, however, is evidently only a detail of a much wider restriction; because Stuebel, referring to the specific example of the children of one of the Malietoa, says that a man might not marry the daughter of either his father's brother or sister; nor the daughter of the son of his father's brother; nor the daughter of a son of a distant agnate of his grandfather. Referring to this example, he says that the same custom held good for all families of chiefs, *tulafale* and other people in Samoa. Marriages within a family (*i.e.* within the number of married or unmarried members of the family of all age-classes, recognizing a common head of the family) were held to be unsafe, even when the blood relationship was only quite distant. He says that the danger extended to persons related to each other in the fourth degree, and that no distinction was made between true and adopted children. If a boy and girl, children of the same parents, had sexual intercourse, the father would declare to them the punishment that awaited them; the son would have no posterity and the daughter would be unfruitful and homeless. This prophecy would certainly be fulfilled. The son would know all his life that if he married and had a child, the latter would not develop and be strong, and would certainly die in childhood; the daughter would know that she would be childless, would live and die among strangers, unloved by

[1] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXIII, pp. 185 *sq.*

other girls, and not see her own family again[1]. Stuebel also makes a curious statement. He refers to the custom for children of daughters to live in the family of either the mother or the father; and adds that only in the latter case was a marriage with members of the family belonging to the maternal grandfather considered safe[2].

Thomson says that not only was marriage with cousins-germain forbidden; but the descendants of a brother and sister respectively, who in Fiji would be expected to marry, were in Samoa and Rotuma regarded as being within the forbidden degrees, so long as their common origin could be remembered[3].

It will be seen that, if we exclude Schultz's statements and perhaps the last quoted statement by Stuebel, all the evidence points to the spreading of the family net, within which matrimonial alliances were prohibited, very widely. Whatever may have been the extent to which matrilineal descent had held its own against patrilineal succession as regarded certain matters, the conception of the family or related group, within which marriages were not allowed, showed no clear distinction between relatives on the father's side and those on the side of the mother, both classes being possibly included in it. We must, however, consider the evidence which, in making this comment, I have excluded.

Schultz is not quite clear. If we read by itself the first portion of the part of his statement first quoted by me in inverted commas, we should, I imagine, have to interpret it as meaning, not merely that first cousins and their issue might not marry, but that the restriction applied more especially to cross-cousins and their issue. As to this I may point out that, though we can understand that an enlargement, for the purpose of matrimonial restriction, might cause it so to extend as to include cross-cousins, as well as the children of two brothers, or two sisters, there seems no reason, other than that given of an extension to subsequent generations of the special sanctity of the brother and sister relationship, why it should apply specially to cross-cousins, as distinguished from the others. Then Schultz's statement "on the other side, the opinion that brothers and their issue, likewise sisters and theirs, should be regarded as one body (*tino e tasi*)," seems to be intended to

[1] Stuebel, pp. 118 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 118 *note.*
[3] Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. XXIV, p. 379.

refer to an idea regarded by the writer as being more or less inconsistent with, or different from, what he has said before[1]; and if this is so, a reasonable explanation of it would be that there was an opinion that the brothers were one body, whose children could not marry, and sisters were another body, whose children could not marry, whilst, presumably, the restriction would not apply to the children of a brother and sister. I am substituting the word "children" for "issue"; as the latter includes the former, though it carries the matter to subsequent generations, and Schultz evidently uses it with this extended meaning. I must point out that, if we regard this matter as associated with the underlying idea upon which the distinction between cross-cousins and other first cousins is based, the extension of the distinction between these two classes of cousins to their descendants involves an inaccuracy or confusion of idea. I think, however, the probable explanation of this is that the Samoans, recognizing an original distinction, had a general idea that it would pass to all the descendants of the respective ancestors, being unable to see the logical fallacy which this involved. As to this I may point out that we have seen, in discussing matrilineal descent, how in Samoa descendants of brothers and sisters appear to have been for generations specially identified for purposes other than intermarriage with their respective male and female ancestors. This same inconsistency will be seen in the reported customs of some of the other islands; and I will not repeat my suggested explanation, though it will apply to them also.

Passing to Schultz's statements as to marriage restrictions relating to sisters and brothers of husbands and wives, I point out, as regards his case (*a*) that, if the husband and wife were permissible spouses, according to rules of relationship or clanship, his sister and her brother would be so also; and the children could marry his sister, but not her brother, if descent were matrilineal, or her brother and not his sister, if it were patrilineal. Schultz says the children were regarded as brothers and sisters of their father's sister *or* their mother's brother, meaning, I think, that the marriage impediment would apply to one or other of these two, that it might be either, but that it would not be both. This would, setting aside the apparent confusion

[1] If he had said "on the other hand there was," this would have been his obvious meaning; and the difference in wording may well be due to the fact that the article has been translated from the German.

of two generations, be quite consistent with the custom, to which I have already referred, for children to be regarded as belonging sometimes to the father, and sometimes to the mother; and, indeed, any detailed evidence of the character which we are considering, which does not take this element into consideration, is apt to be confusing and misleading. I point out, however, that this involves, as regards marriage, a differentiation as between paternal and maternal relations. The conditional character of the marriage prohibition between the wife's brother and husband's sister, who would, according to rules of relationship or clanship, be permissible spouses, is not either clearly stated or explained; but I think Schultz's probable meaning is that, so long as there was a possibility of the husband and wife having and leaving children, her brother and his sister could marry, but otherwise they could not do so. The explanation may well be similar to that appearing later—namely that if the husband and wife left children, his sister and her brother (in the other case his brother and her sister) could, if married, adopt them. Case (*b*) cannot be discussed from the point of view of rules of relationship or clanship, because we cannot say to what family any particular generation of children would belong. It seems to amount to this—that recognizing that the wife's brother and husband's sister could not marry, except under certain circumstances, there was a general idea of relationship between them, which extended to their descendants until the original relationship was forgotten. Case (*c*) refers to restriction against marriage between the husband's brother and wife's sister, who also would, according to rules of relationship or clanship, be permissible spouses. This also was conditional, and here again the condition is based, apparently, on a question of convenience, the idea being that if the husband and wife had no children, his brother and her sister should provide a family for them to adopt; or that the brother and sister should, if the husband and wife had children, be able to adopt those children.

The main interest of Schultz's evidence, which is somewhat confusing, seems to be that it does appear to show, or at least suggest, some continued differentiation for the purpose of matrimonial regulations, between a person's paternal and maternal relatives; whilst, on the other hand, it discloses rules which can only be associated with an extension of the marriage restrictions to a wide circle, and indicates circumstances under

which some restrictions could be removed on grounds of convenience in connection with children.

I shall refer later on to Stuebel's statement that it was only when the children of a marriage lived with the family of their father that a marriage with the family belonging to the maternal grandfather was considered safe.

Frazer, in dealing with the question of exogamy (not specially in connection with Polynesia) says that it forms no part of true totemism, being a great social reform of a much later date. He discusses the matter in connection with an Australian system, under which each tribe was divided into two exogamous halves, marrying into each other, and these halves were at a later time again subdivided so as to form four exogamous quarters, and perhaps again into eight exogamous sections; and he contends that these processes of division and subdivision, with an increasingly complicated rule of descent, have every appearance of being artificial, and that they were deliberately devised and adopted as a means of preventing incest[1]. He discusses the origin of the prohibition of incestuous unions, and attributes it to a belief that they were injurious to the persons who engaged in them, and not to moral instinct or a fear of some evil which they would entail upon the offspring they produced. Then he says: "Thus the ultimate origin of exogamy, and with it of the law of incest—since exogamy was devised to prevent incest—remains a problem nearly as dark as ever"[2]. I do not know whether Frazer's view of the origin of exogamy, including the artificial character of the Australian system, has been generally accepted by ethnologists; but in any case we should have to admit that in their practical results rules of exogamy and against incest would run very much in the same direction so far as one moiety of the blood relatives were concerned, and it appears to me that it might not always be very easy, in considering the evidence, to distinguish between them.

If we are told that persons of certain specific degrees of relationship might not marry, this is, I gather, a question of incest. But if the statement is that a man might not marry a woman loosely described as of his own family or social group or clan, it seems to become a question of what the evidence means. Let us assume for the purpose of discussion that my views as to social grouping are correct; that each of the three principal divisions of Upolu was in the main, or primarily, a

[1] Frazer, *T. and E.* vol. I, pp. 162 *sq.* [2] *Ibid.* pp. 164 *sq.*

great related social group, at the head of which was its king, who bore the title of the group; that in each of these divisions there were a number of minor areas, say districts or village districts, forming related sub-groups of a similar character; that these were again subdivided into villages, forming related sub-sub-groups, and the latter into domestic families in the way described in the chapter on "Social and local grouping"; and that each related social group or sub-group, and so on downward, though a part of a larger one, had its recognized identity, and possessed its official head, the bearer of its title or name. Marriages between members of the same domestic family, or other relatively small social group, would generally come within laws against incest; but, as the groups became larger, this probability would diminish; and if restrictions prevailed against marrying *any* woman who was a co-member of a group which was so large that most or many women of that group would probably or almost certainly be outside the degrees of relationship affected by the law of incest, the matter is not so simple.

We have seen that von Bülow treats the restrictive regulations as having applied as between families that "bore the same name," whilst Stuebel defines them as families "recognizing a common head." I think these two statements are merely different ways of expressing the same thing; as a family or other social group had its group name, and the head of the group was the person who bore that name by virtue of his position. Unfortunately, however, these definitive distinctions do not tell us how far the restrictive net extended; for a large social group would have its name or title, held by its recognized head, and each of the sub-groups, composing the larger group, would have its name, held by its head—and so on downwards. These groups, great and small, were what writers speak of somewhat indiscriminately as "families," "clans," "tribes," etc., and according to my interpretation of the evidence on social grouping, they were, speaking generally, the occupants of districts, village districts, villages, and domestic households. The effect of the evidence might therefore be that the restriction applied only as between the members of a small sub-group, all of whom would probably be near blood relations, or it might be that it applied as between members of a group so large that it might be assumed that the relationship between many of its members would be very distant.

It follows therefore that we cannot always say whether the

evidence points to mere rules against incest, or whether it also indicates a system of group separation for matrimonial purposes the character of which went beyond what was necessary for the avoidance of incest; and in the latter case the question arises what interpretation is to be put upon it. We are not dealing with a dual organization comparable with that of Australia, to which Frazer refers, or with the dual exogamous *vosa* system of Fiji described by Hocart[1], which seems to have been, in modern times at all events, quite distinct from their system of division into *matanggali*, or clans, which, in the case to which he refers, were not exogamous[2]; but it does not, I imagine, follow that we are not dealing with a system of group exogamy, or which has had its origin in exogamy.

It seems clear that the question was not simply one of what we should call blood relationship. I refer as to this to von Bülow's statement that the law against intermarriage with relations included within its scope relations of bondsmen, such as families united in alliance with the father through voluntary contract or under his protection, and Stuebel's statement that the family, within which intermarriages might not take place, included adopted children. These people would be, in a greater or less degree, members of the family or social group by virtue of the fictitious bonds of kinship by which groups were connected in Samoa; but they might be absolute strangers in blood to the rest of the family. The answer to this may, however, be that the recognition of fictitious bonds of kinship would perhaps enlarge the conception of kinship even as regards questions of incest; but this is a subject which I am not qualified to discuss.

Some light is, however, thrown on the matter by the system, referred to by Stuebel, under which, if the children of a marriage lived with the family of their mother, marriage with members of the family belonging to the maternal grandfather was considered unsafe, whilst if they lived with the family of their father it was safe. It is clear that, so far as incest was concerned, the matrimonial impediment would not be removed simply by going to live with another family. I propose to quote with reference to this subject a paragraph by Frazer. "From the foregoing survey of totemism and exogamy in south-eastern Australia it may be seen how diversified are the social systems which have been based on these two principles. In some tribes we find the

[1] Hocart, *Man*, vol. XIV, p. 2. [2] *Ibid.* vol. XV, p. 7.

simple two-class system, in others the more complex four-class system, while in others, again, the system of exogamous classes has vanished or left only faint traces behind. In some tribes there is male descent; in others there is female descent. In some tribes the totem clans are well developed and clearly defined; in others they are decadent or almost, if not wholly, obliterated. On the whole, the extinction of the class system is most marked among the tribes of the coast, who, retaining the principle of exogamy, have applied it to local districts instead of to kinship groups, or rather, perhaps, have identified the local groups with the kinship groups. The chief factor in this conversion of kinship exogamy into local exogamy has been the adoption of paternal in preference to maternal descent; for where the men remain in the same district, and transmit their family names unchanged from generation to generation, while the names of the wives whom they import from other districts die out with their owners, the result is to make the kinship group, indicated by the possession of a common hereditary name, coincide more or less exactly with the local group, and thus the principle of class or kinship exogamy tends to pass gradually and almost insensibly into the principle of local exogamy"[1].

Now Frazer is, I think, contemplating a gradual process of social evolution, and not the specific case of a single family, such as that with which we are now dealing; but it seems to me that our facts, considered in the light of his comments, are interesting. The children of the Samoan marriage, had they remained with their mother's people, would probably have been regarded as being more especially members of her social or kinship group, and would have been prevented from marrying some, at all events, of her relations by rules of incest, and also by rules of group exogamy, if such prevailed. Their removal to their father's people left the question of incest unchanged; but they were deemed to have passed to another group, bearing (see von Bülow) another name, and recognizing (see Stuebel) another common head, and so had become, as it were, absorbed into that group. Consequently they might, notwithstanding the question of incest, intermarry with their mother's people. The children might, as we have seen, be regarded as belonging to the social group of either their mother or their father; and the fact of their remaining with their mother's people would be consistent

[1] Frazer, *T. and E.* vol. 1, p. 507.

with, and would tend to accentuate, the former idea, whilst their removal to their father's people would accentuate, and perhaps even lead to, the latter. Possibly the case we are considering may be an example of an initial step in the gradual development of a system of local exogamy such as that to which Frazer refers, and the presence of which system in Samoa would be consistent with a possible construction to be put upon some of the general evidence[1].

According to Schultz's information, as interpreted by me, there was an opinion that, whilst the children of two brothers or two sisters might not marry, cross-cousins could do so. Both Stuebel and Thomson say cross-cousins could not marry. If, as we may reasonably believe, in view of the state of transition as regards questions of relationship through which Samoa seems to have been passing, the customs as to marriage differed in different parts of the island, it may well be that each of these writers correctly records a custom as reported to him in the locality where he obtained his information, though I think that the practice alleged by Stuebel and Thomson was probably, at the times when they wrote, the more usual one. If, as we have seen, the right to succession could be disputed between two persons, of whom one based his claim on the ground that he was the son of the sister of the late chief, "a right which was still recognized in some parts of Samoa," whilst the other claimed as son of the late chief, duly named by him in dying, then there may well have been differences of custom in marriage regulations in different districts of Samoa, and even doubts with reference to them in any one district. Moreover a differentiation such as Schultz apparently reports is not a thing that could well have been invented; it must have been told him by some one who knew of its existence somewhere.

If we assume that this differentiation was recognized, even though it may have been so only partially, and that there was also, again even if only partial, a recognition of a differentiation in the laws of marriage of people, depending, not merely upon closeness of consanguinity, but upon the local groups among whom they lived, we are, I imagine, entitled to believe that exogamy in some form or other, or practices based on exogamy, prevailed, at least in a limited degree, in Samoa. The

[1] In Fiji a woman who married into a stranger tribe honoured the totems of the tribe where she was, and also those of her own tribe. But her children would only honour the totems of the tribe of their father, *unless* (my italics) *they went to dwell in the tribe of their mother* (de Marzan, *Anthrop.* vol. II, p. 403).

extent to which the local restriction might be confined to the members of a family, living, say in a village, or extended to the members of two related families, living, say, in two adjoining villages of a village district (I am using these terms with my original defined meaning), or even extended still more widely, is a question which, for lack of information, we are unable to discuss; nor indeed do I imagine that the rule is capable of definition—it would probably depend in each case more or less on the degree of intimacy of relationship. As regards the specific practice referred to by Stuebel, there can be no doubt that the development of the rights of the father had to a very large extent swept away, or thrown into the background, those of the mother. The family or relationship bond which would unite a social group with its chief or other head, which was also a local group by virtue of occupation of a specific area, and separate it from another socio-local group, would be mainly patrilineal, because succession to the family title or name was so. In that case rules as to intermarriage might become largely local in character—that is, a man would be told that he should marry a woman of another village, or village district, or district, as the case might be; and the fundamental principles of incest and exogamy might be to a large extent forgotten, as between these two groups.

I may say that the evidence as to the practices connected with courtship and betrothal, and the ceremonies of marriage, and what occurred afterwards, points to a common custom for a man to seek a wife in another village or district, or whatever else it may be called, than his own, and this practice may possibly be associated with the social evolution, referred to by Frazer, under which people, "retaining the principle of exogamy, have applied it to local districts, instead of to kinship groups, or rather perhaps have identified the local groups with the kinship groups." An admittedly common reason for seeking a bride elsewhere was the desire of the bridegroom's family to secure a valuable ally, bound to it by matrimonial connection; and this motive involves the supposition that the two families would not already be closely connected.

TONGA

We know very little of the matrimonial restrictions of Tonga, from the point of view either of incest or of group exogamy. Thomson, who uses the term "concubitant" to represent the

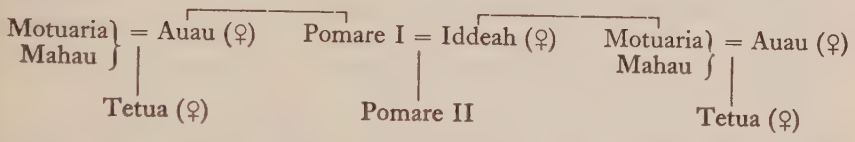
matrimonial relationship between cross-cousins[1], after referring to the Samoan practice, concerning which I have already quoted him, forbidding marriage not only between cousins-germain, but between the descendants of a brother and sister, so long as the common origin could be remembered, says that in Tonga a trace of a custom of concubitous marriage could be detected. The union of the grandchildren (and occasionally even of the children) of a brother and sister was there regarded as a fit and proper custom for the superior chiefs, but not for the common people. A sister's children, other things being equal, ranked above a brother's, and concubitous rights were vested in the sister's grandchild, especially if a female, and her parents might send for her male cousin to be her *takaifala* (lit. bed-maker) or consort, though the practice was never sufficiently general to be called a national custom. Treating this, apparently, as totally different from the practice of other Polynesian people, he suggests that it originated in the desire of the chiefs, more autocratic in Tonga than elsewhere, to preserve their divine blood, by intermarriage among themselves, so as to avoid contamination by alliances with their subjects[2]. I gather from this that intermarriage between cousins whose parents were two brothers or two sisters was not allowed, and it was only as regards cross-cousins that it was sometimes permitted. I should imagine that the distinction between the two classes of cousins was older than Thomson seems to imply, and was in fact a survival or revival of an original differentiation which had become lost in a relatively recent widening out of the limits of prohibition. But even if he is right as to the motives of the chiefs, there is something more to be said about the matter. Why should the chiefs, in order to promote marriages within their own families, permit intermarriage as between cross-cousins or their respective children and not others? It seems reasonable to believe that they were following a line of least resistance, and were acting in recognition of ideas and customs that had prevailed in the past. The approval of marriages between the children of the cross-cousins more generally than as between the cousins themselves would probably be based upon the fact that their kinship was not so close. Therefore, whichever way we interpret the facts as given by him, they seem to point to a past system of, or of the character of, exogamy.

[1] Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxiv, p. 373. [2] *Ibid.* p. 379.

SOCIETY ISLANDS

The information from the Society Islands also is very scanty. Moerenhout says that marriages between near relations were not common; they were repugnant to the natives, and only took place when political interest made them absolutely necessary[1]. Persons of near kin could not intermarry[2]. According to de Bovis, the principal obstacles in the way of marriage were inequalities of rank and ties of relationship. Sometimes the first were surmounted, but never the second, and the prohibition extended much beyond the degrees authorized by us. One cannot conceive an idea of the horror with which marriage contracted between near relations inspired the people[3]. There is nothing in these statements that takes the matter beyond what might be simply a question of incest, nor can I find any material indicating that it was, or might be, one of groups.

There is, however, an interesting example of marriages between cross-cousins, which I will show by a genealogical table.



The Motuaria Mahau and his wife and daughter, whose names appear at both ends of the table are the same persons, and I introduce them twice for the purpose of showing the double relationship of these people with the Pomares. The whole of this table, except that part which links Pomare I with Auau as brother and sister, is taken from one of Ari'i Taimai's tables[4] and is confirmed incidentally by other writers, and I have no doubt as to its accuracy. Pomare I and Auau are referred to as brother and sister, apparently by the same father, in diary entries made by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1799, in 1802, and in another year, of which I have not kept a note[5], from which we must, I think, assume that they were clear on the point, and we have confirmation of the fact that they were brother and sister from Turnbull[6] and from Vancouver[7]. Now Pomare II married Tetua[8]; so

[1] Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 67.
[2] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 263.
[3] De Bovis, pp. 256 *sq.*
[4] Ari'i Taimai, p. 76.
[5] *Trans.* vol. I, pp. 112, 171; vol. II, p. 132.
[6] Turnbull, p. 320.
[7] Vancouver, vol. I, pp. 139, 141.
[8] Ari'i Taimai, p. 76. (I could give other references for this well-known fact.)

there was a double cross-cousin marriage, for she was the daughter both of his mother's brother and of his father's sister. I may say also that his brother married her sister[1], which would be another example of the same thing. This is obviously not a custom which can be proved by giving a single example, or even a few; but it is difficult to imagine that these marriages would have occurred if they had involved acts in violation of an insurmountable barrier, and which were regarded with the horror to which de Bovis refers, and if they did not do so, the inference is that cross-cousins were not necessarily included among the relatives, marriages between whom were such a violation or induced this sense of horror. I only give the evidence, however, for what it is worth. We are told of a lady who was with a chief for a short time, but had to leave him because they were first cousins, and the relatives of both sides did not approve of the match[2]; but as we are not told whether they were cross-cousins this case does not point either one way or the other.

I have, in discussing social grouping in the Society Islands, drawn attention to the inconsistency between what must have been the artificial character of the practice of division of areas into eight sections, even if the origin of the custom is to be associated with the cuttle-fish, and what we should expect to find with coincident social and local grouping. Is it conceivably possible that the practice had its origin in some system comparable with that of Australia to which Frazer refers?

HERVEY ISLANDS

I have already referred to Gill's statement that the island of Mangaia had separate clans, each of which had its separate gods, customs, traditions and songs, and constituted but one great family, with a single head, and pledged to defend each other to the death. I have also referred to a number of specific groups of people, including the Ngariki or original people, who were divided into a few sections, and immigrant groups who, according to tradition, had come from Tonga and Tahiti, and to the wars which took place between these various groups, and sometimes, apparently, between sections of the same group. Now Gill continually uses the words "clan" and "tribe" in a way that makes it clear that he treats them as synonymous

[1] Turnbull, p. 132. Cf. L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. I, p. 215.
[2] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, pp. 110 *sq.*

terms, referring to the same thing—that is, to one or other of these recognized distinct groups; indeed sometimes, in speaking of one of the groups, he will, in the same paragraph, call it in one place a "tribe" and in another a "clan," apparently to avoid the inelegance of terminological repetition. It is in the light of this practice of his that we must consider what he tells us about marriage regulations.

Gill says that distant cousins sometimes, though rarely, married; but they had to be of the same generation, that is, descended in the same degree—fourth, or fifth, or even more remotely, from the common ancestor. It was the duty of parents to teach their growing children whom they might lawfully marry, the choice being extremely limited. The correct thing in the native mind undoubtedly was exogamy[1]. So far the evidence does not prove more than a law against incest; but Gill takes the matter further. He says a man had to select a wife from another tribe, it being usually regarded as a grave offence against the gods to marry into one's own tribe; and as these tribes were almost always at war, a man was often compelled to fight against his own relations[2]. Should a tribe, however, be divided in war, the defeated portion was treated as an alien tribe, and Gill had known comparatively near relations marry with the approval of the elders of the victorious portion of the tribe, on the ground that the sanctity of the clan law had been wiped out in battle[3]. As regards this evidence, I point out that the tribes in question were those named social groups or clans of known or traditional origins the wars between whom have been referred to and tabulated in a previous chapter. Intermarriages between members of tribes would necessarily produce subsequent inter-tribal family relationships; but yet, apparently each group of relations would be regarded for matrimonial purposes as belonging to its own tribe, which would, I imagine, usually be the tribe of the father, except in the cases referred to on a previous page, when daughters of a victorious tribe married members of a defeated tribe, and the husbands lived with their wives' people. The effect of division in war of a tribe is specially interesting, for here the question of marriage restrictions depended not on degrees of relationship, but upon what Gill calls "clan law." People who could not marry so long as the tribe was all one tribe could do so when it was regarded as having been divided into two; and the clan idea appears to

[1] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 13. [2] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 136. [3] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 13.

have been so strong as to enable marriages to take place between people who under laws of incest would not be allowed to do so. It seems to me that, so far as the evidence goes, we have here a law against incest, and also a system which I am unable to distinguish from group-exogamy, to which is added the curious fact that marriage within a group might be allowed if, as the result of internal war, the group was regarded as having been split up into two groups.

In Rarotonga, according to Moss, polygamy was the rule, with much intermarrying of blood relations[1]; but I have found no other information as to this island.

MARQUESAS

Lisiansky says that in the Marquesas near relations were forbidden to marry[2]. Jardin says that a boy, arriving at the age of puberty, tries to marry either in his own tribe or in the neighbouring tribe[3]; but the interpretation to be put on this statement obviously depends upon the meaning with which the word "tribe" is used. According to Tautain, in modern times marriage between cousins was limited to a single case. The children of two brothers might not marry, nor the children of two sisters; it was only permitted to the children of a brother and sister[4]. As to Tautain's reference to "modern times," I make a comment similar to that which I have offered concerning Thomson's statement about Tonga. I do not think we must believe that the distinction between the two classes of first cousins in "modern times" was a modern innovation; or, if it was so, it was probably a return to an old distinction that had been lost in a widening out of the limits of prohibition.

Tautain also says that in noble families marriage was always preceded by a suit which might be made just as well by the parents of the girls as by those of the young man. If the two families were related (*apparenties*) the suit *could not be declined* [my italics], but it might be rejected in case of non-relationship[5]. This last statement would seem to be very extraordinary, and difficult either to understand or believe, unless some explanation of it can be found. It can hardly be that any marriage could be enforced by any family upon any unwilling related family. If, however, we restrict its application of compulsory

[1] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 20. [2] Lisiansky, p. 83. [3] Jardin, p. 197.
[4] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VI, p. 644. [5] *Ibid.* p. 642.

assent to families related *through cross-cousin marriages*, then a possible explanation of the matter presents itself. I may point out that though family relationships might be created otherwise than through marriages between first cousins; the latter, at all events, could, according to what we have been told, only be cross-cousins. It is on the assumption that the family relationship, which gave rise to actual inter-family matrimonial rights, had its origin in cross-cousin marriage that I can suggest a possible explanation of what would otherwise seem to be an anomaly.

Thomson says that in Fiji the relationship of what he calls concubitants occurred between persons whose parents were brother and sister. The young Fijian was from his birth regarded as the natural husband of the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother. They were born his property if he desired to take them. Thomson explains the curious situations that would arise if a man married a woman other than one of his concubitants; but he does not report any right of a girl or her people to demand a man of whom she was a concubitant[1]. I have already quoted his reference to a somewhat similar system as prevailing in Tonga, though there apparently it was usually the girl's people who laid claim to the man.

Fison refers to the same matter. He illustrates by a series of tables the subject of marriageable relationship, and an examination of these tables shows that the people who might marry were, so far as the second generation was concerned, cross-cousins; he carries the matter on further to a third generation of the children of cross-cousins, but I need not go into that part of the matter here. The people who could marry were called *veindavolani*[2]. Then he says this term expressed something more than is conveyed by our word "marriageable." It expressed a *right* and an *obligation*, as well as a *qualification*, a right which, though over-ridden under ordinary circumstances by the proprietary right conferred by actual marriage or betrothal, asserted itself clearly enough on certain ceremonial occasions, being strong enough on those occasions when the people deemed it necessary "to revert for a time, as they say, to the customs of our ancestors." Moreover the *veindavolani* right involved an obligation, which could be strictly enforced, for persons who were *veindavolani* actually to marry when the

[1] Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxiv, pp. 373 *sqq.*
[2] Fison, *J.A.I.* vol. xxiv, pp. 360–3.

elders agreed that they should do so[1]. We thus see that in both Tonga and Fiji, according to Thomson, and in Fiji, according to Fison, the marriageable relationship between cross-cousins was extended so as to include rights to demand or order marriage and an obligation to comply.

I think we should regard Tautain's statement concerning the Marquesas in the light of what we are told as to Tonga and Fiji, and should believe that the matrilineal rights to which he refers probably arose as between cross-cousins. If these rights extended, as Fison says they did in Fiji, to the next generation, after that of the cross-cousins, then the number of permissible spouses would be increased, and it is possible that it was thus that Tautain came to make his statement so wide.

If there is any possibility of an association with Frazer's suggestion as to Australia of the apparently artificial division into eight sections of areas in the Society Islands, it may be that the same question might arise with reference to the Marquesas.

NIUE

In the island of Niue, according to Thomson, the children of two brothers, or of a brother and sister, might marry without shocking the sentiments of the country; but the marriage of the offspring of two sisters was absolutely forbidden, this prohibition dating from the time when a man who married a girl had the right to marry all her sisters, so that it was never certain that children of sisters had not the same father[2]. The reason for a distinction between the case of the children of two brothers, or a brother and sister, put together into one category, and that of the children of two sisters, forming another category, is clearly not based upon the distinction between cross-cousins and other first cousins, and so does not seem to bear obviously upon the subject of exogamy. Eliminating the special intermarriageable relationship of cross-cousins, the distinction is merely between the cases of two brothers and two sisters; and I may point out that, with matrilineal descent, the children of two brothers might belong to different social groups, their respective wives being of different families, whilst those of two sisters would belong to the same group. It is possible that this

[1] Fison, *J.A.I.* vol. xxiv, pp. 367 *sq.*

[2] Thomson, *S.I.* pp. 135 *sq.*

is another explanation of the matter. Smith says that marriage between first cousins was sometimes objected to on the ground of consanguinity and consequent incest[1].

ROTUMA

In Rotuma marriage within the *hoang* was forbidden[2]. The *hoang*, the smallest unit, except that of the individual man, in the social system of the island, was, as we have seen, a consanguine family, occupying a number of houses, placed together and forming, if the family was large enough, a small village. Under these circumstances the question arises, how is the statement to be interpreted? It might be group exogamy. It might be merely a loose way of defining degrees of consanguinity, marriage within which was regarded as incest; but it would only be loose, for a man of one *hoang* might be more closely related to some women of another *hoang* than he was to some of his own. A third possible alternative is that we have here another example of local exogamy.

Evidence as to cross-cousin marriage is available from this island. According to Gardiner, marriage between first cousins was forbidden[3], and this would include all first cousins. He, however, also says that a grandchild of a man and his wife might marry his or her *hoisasinga*, second cousin, if he or she [presumably the second cousin] was descended from the *senghoni*, the man's sister, or the *sengvevene*, the woman's brother, but not, it was distinctly stated, if the descent was from the man's brother, or the woman's sister, both of which relationships were expressed by the term *sosonghi*[4]. The interpretation of these statements which I suggest is this. There had originally been a distinction, for matrimonial purposes, between cross-cousins, who might marry, and other first cousins, who might not. The restrictive net had been extended, as it seems to have been in some other islands, and cross-cousin marriage had thus come within the limit of prohibition. As regards the next generation also it had been extended; but in this case, the persons concerned being a generation further from the common ancestor, and the relationship therefore not so close, it had not been done so drastically, and children of cross-cousins were

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 170.
[2] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 478. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

still allowed to marry, though those of other first cousins were forbidden. I do not imagine that the Rotuman mind necessarily worked out the problem with logical nicety; but it would at all events have a general idea of degrees of relationship and of distinctions between paternal and maternal relationship which might lead it to evolve the distinctions which Gardiner records.

Thomson's statement that in Samoa and Rotuma the descendants of a brother and sister were regarded as being within the forbidden degrees so long as the common origin could be remembered, has already been quoted by me. So far as children of cross-cousins in Rotuma are concerned it contradicts Gardiner; but I think that the latter, with his special knowledge of the island, is the witness upon whom we must place the greater reliance.

UVEA

The only information I have found as to Uvea is that the people were never permitted to marry blood relations, whatever the degree of relationship might be[1].

FOTUNA

In Fotuna consanguinity in the nearest degrees was an obstacle to marriage[2]; but I find no further information.

EASTER ISLAND

In Easter Island, according to Lapelin, relations did not marry[3]; but Mrs Routledge has given me more detailed information. She says they reckoned relationship thus: brother and sister were two degrees apart, first cousins were four degrees, second cousins six degrees, and third cousins eight degrees, a method, I may point out, evidently based upon counting from one of the related persons up to the common ancestor, and then down again to the other. "The only restriction was that which forbade marriage" before the fourth generation—that is, it only went down to and included second cousins; so that third cousins might marry. "There was no other restriction as to marriage within the clan nor with any outside its borders." Unfortunately, Mrs Routledge's information only reached me just as she was starting, or had started,

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 16.
[2] Bourdin, p. 447.
[3] Lapelin, *R.M.C.* vol. XXXV, p. 115.

on her voyage to the Pacific so I had no opportunity of questioning her further as to the exact meaning of the sentences I have quoted in inverted commas[1]; but the meaning might be either that degrees of relationship were borne in mind (up to a point) only as regards marriages within the district of the clan, but were not considered in cases of marriages between members of two clans living in separate districts, or that it was simply a question of relationship without reference to that of clan.

Mrs Routledge refers in her note to "a mysterious word *tumu*," with which she wrestled long, but which she believed to mean only "neighbour." She says it was vaguely believed that originally one only married one's *tumu*; but no such restriction existed in known times. This word *tumu* is evidently one the use of which is widely spread in Polynesia with various original or derivative meanings, and I give some of these which I have selected from those appearing in Tregear's dictionary. "The stump of a tree" (New Zealand); "a hollow place in a tree where water lodges" (Samoa); "the trunk," "the root," "the origin," "the cause," "the foundation" (Tahiti); "the bottom or foundation of a thing, as the bottom of a tree or plant, but not the roots," "the beginning of a thing," "the producing cause," "the stumps or roots of what is cut off," "the short hairs with the roots left after dressing a hog," "the short stumps left after breaking off weeds, instead of pulling them up" (Hawai'i); "the summit," "the top" (Tonga); "the root," "the foundation or origin" (Mangaia); "a root" (Rarotonga); "the trunk," "the stem," "a stump," "the beginning or source" (Marquesas); the "base," "the foundation," "origin," "principle," "source," "the trunk of a tree," "a stump" (Mangareva); "a foundation" (Paumotu). I admit that this is not very illuminating, but point out that the word, applied to the subject now under discussion, might possibly mean a human group, represented primarily by its main trunk family, and having its common origin or head. In that case, however, we should expect that the *tumu* would represent the group of people into which a man *might not* marry. If in Easter Island *tumu* meant "neighbour," then perhaps it had been used in connection with some system of exogamy which had passed away.

[1] Mrs Routledge prepared for me various notes, of which this was one, at what must have been a time of extreme hurry and pressure; but, in spite of this, the notes are, so far as they go, excellently clear as to almost everything.

PENRHYN ISLAND

In Penrhyn Island marriage was forbidden with any relation as near as second cousin[1].

TIKOPIA

According to one account obtained by Rivers in Tikopia, a man would not marry anyone whom he would call *kave*, whether the daughter of brother, or sister of father or mother, or a more distant relative through the classificatory system; but the regulation of marriage depended wholly on kinship, and the social divisions of the people had no significance in connection with marriage, it not mattering whether the spouses were of the same or of different divisions[2]. Material collected by Rivers from another source seems to confirm this; and the absence of any reference in certain pedigrees to marriages between members of one of the divisions and those of any of the others leads him to suggest that this division was perhaps more or less endogamous, but he suggests another possible explanation of the matter[3].

MELANESIAN ISLANDS

In the New Hebridean Island of Futuna, and some other islands of the group, daughters were, according to Gunn, rarely allowed to marry outside their districts or tribes[4]; but as we know nothing of the social relationship between the people of those districts, and do not know the exact sense in which he uses the term "tribe," we cannot say what this statement implies. The children of two brothers or two sisters might not marry, and this prohibition extended downwards even to the grandchildren or great grandchildren of the brothers or sisters; but the children of a brother and sister might marry[5].

In Aneityum they usually married within the "tribe," though not blood relations; yet the children of a brother and sister might marry, whilst those of two sisters might not[6].

[1] Lamont, p. 136.
[2] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 303, 309.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 345 *sq.*
[4] Gunn, p. 275.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 205.
[6] J. Lawrie, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 709.

CHAPTER XVIII

SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP MATTERS AND TERMS

PRELIMINARY

THE subject of the social customs, rights, powers and duties associated with certain specific family relationships is a difficult one with which to deal in discussing Polynesia, for several reasons. In the first place, it is necessary for the purpose of accuracy to be quite sure that the relationships themselves are defined with exactitude; and this is a matter as to which, in reading the statements of past writers, we must often be very doubtful; in particular we often do not know whether or not they use terms of relationship in the classificatory sense. Then Polynesia seems to have lost many of those peculiar social practices which probably prevailed among the more archaic ancestors of the people; and in some cases we find ourselves dealing, not so much with what were probably the true original customs, as with survivals, or perhaps only traces of them. Then, again, the evidence is often confused and even contradictory, this being perhaps due in part to the difference in the extent to which old ideas had died out at different periods and in different districts. And finally, not only were some of these customs closely interconnected, but in some cases the loose statements of writers leave us in doubt as to the particular original idea to which that which they describe must be attributed; and this difficulty is, I think, enhanced by the condition of social transition in some matters, which seems to have prevailed in parts, at all events, of Polynesia when the material was collected by the authors. Take for example the relationship between a brother and sister, and that between a man and his father's sister. The former was based in part on brother and sister avoidance; but there were features in it which I have, rightly or wrongly, attributed to matrilineal descent. So, as regards the latter, when we consider the evidence of the special respect which a person had to show to his

father's sister, and her rights and powers with reference to him, we must sometimes, I think, be in doubt whether some of that of which we are told should not be attributed, in part at least, to a continuance by the father's children of the special respect, and submission, derived perhaps from matrilineal descent, which the father had to show to their aunt as his sister; and if we recognize the way in which the superiority of a sister over her brother seems sometimes to have continued as between their respective descendants, the matter becomes even more complicated. I seem, indeed, as regards all these matters, to be surrounded by pitfalls; and I fear that I shall sometimes tumble into traps which a more fully trained social ethnologist would have no difficulty in avoiding, and which, indeed, would not to him be traps.

I must point out also, as regards the terms used to designate specific relationships between certain persons, that, though much light upon the social structure and customs of a people can be obtained from these terms, we must not assume, in the case of Polynesia, that this structure, at the time when the evidence was collected, was in all respects such as the terms may indicate, as many of the latter, though still retained, may have been based upon, or associated with, systems and practices which had wholly or partially passed away—perhaps long before. Also, in considering and comparing the specific terms reported from various islands, it must be borne in mind that the absence of some of these in one island, whilst they are included among those of another, may be due, not to any actual difference between the two islands, but to insufficiency of the evidence collected in one of them. In some cases the exact meaning of a term seems to have been altered or enlarged in a relatively recent period.

SAMOA

Relationship terms

The Samoans had a number of distinctive relationship terms, and I will give such particulars as to these as I have been able to find.

Tane: a husband[1].

Ava: a wife. *Tufue:* first (especially of a wife). *Faletua:* a small back house; a chief's wife. *Masiofo:* the wife of a high chief; a queen[2]. *Faanofo:* a secondary wife, introduced by the

[1] Pratt. [2] *Ibid.*

first (the slow cry of the *manutangi*[1]). *Taunonofo:* a man's wives, taken collectively[2].

Tama: a father, a chief. According to information obtained by Rivers from natives, the term was also used for a father's brother, but only properly so after the father had died and the brother had taken over the guardianship of his nephew; but Rivers was told by Europeans that the term was habitually used, not only for the father's brother and for others of his generation, but also for grandparents and others of their generation[3].

Tina: a mother. Rivers says this term was said to be limited to the relationship of mother; but he thinks it was probably also generally used in the same wide sense as *tama*[4].

Matua: an old person or parent[5]. Rivers says that the term was said by some to be limited to the proper parents and grandparents of a person; but that it seemed to be also generally used for any elder[6]. According to Krämer it was also used, with the meaning of "the eldest," for chiefs or orator-chiefs, whose counsel was specially considered at *fono* and in private affairs[7]; and his book gives examples of this use.

Tupuanga or *tupunga:* ancestors[8]. Rivers says that *tupunga* was said to be used in the same sense as *matua*; and that it also meant ancestor[9].

Tama: a child; a boy; a woman's offspring of either sex and any age. *Tama-tane:* a boy[10]. Rivers thinks the term *tama* was probably only properly used by a woman of her children; and this is perhaps the explanation of Pratt's otherwise unnecessary definition as a "woman's" offspring. Rivers also says the term certainly appears to have been used for grandchildren, for which he could discover no special term[11]. *Tama:* a boy; but also a girl, if it was a woman (or wife?—*Frau*) speaking. *Tama-tane:* the son of a woman; also simply a boy[12].

Atalii: a son. Rivers thinks it was probably only used by a man for his sons, and for the sons of those he would call brother. He also thinks the term was used for grandsons[13].

[1] *Ibid.* Cf. as to last term, Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxv, p. 84 *note* 12.
[2] Stuebel, p. 124.
[3] Pratt. Turner, p. 365. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 481. Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369.
[4] Pratt. Turner, p. 365. Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369. [5] Pratt.
[6] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369. [7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 480.
[8] Pratt, p. 215. [9] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369. [10] Pratt.
[11] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369. [12] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 481.
[13] Pratt. Turner, p. 365. Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369.

I see that, according to Pratt's dictionary, *ata* meant a shadow, a spirit, the emblem or representative of an *aitu*; and it is possible that the term *atalii* was based on the idea that the son of an *ali'i* or chief was his shadow or spirit or representative. This would accord with Rivers's idea that the term was only used by the man; but apparently the term was not confined to the son of a chief.

Afafine, *tama-teine* and *tamafafine*. According to Pratt's dictionary, the first term referred to the daughter of a man, and the latter two referred to the daughter of a woman, from which I infer that they were specially used by the mother. Rivers gives *afafine* as the term for a daughter[1]. So does Turner[2]. Pratt says *tamafafine* was also used for the children of a sister. Krämer gives *afafine* as meaning the daughter of a father; and *tama-teine* for the daughter of a mother, also simply, a girl; and *tamafafine* for the daughter of a woman, and the children of a sister[3].

The following terms are taken from Pratt's dictionary. *Usoitama:* the children of one father. *Usoitina:* the children of one mother. *Usotaufeangai:* the children of either the same father or the same mother. The three terms *falealo*, *faletama* and *maave'ese'ese*, meaning respectively children of a chief by different wives, the children of a polygamist, and a family springing from one father, but having different mothers, seem to have meant very much the same thing. *Alo:* the underside of a thing; a chief's belly; a chief's child. *Suli* (in Savai'i, *sulu*): the true son of a chief.

Uso: brother to brother, and sister to sister; also in connection with first cousins (*Geschwisterkinder*)[4]. According to Rivers, the term was applied by a man to his brother, and by a woman to her sister, and it appears to have been used by each sex in a very wide sense, probably for all those of the same generation, with whom relationship could be traced[5]. A similar wide use of the term is involved in the meanings appearing in Pratt's dictionary. It will be noticed that this word forms the first part of the names given above for the children of the same father or mother; and as to this, I notice in the dictionary that one of the general meanings of *uso* is the umbilical cord. In the dictionary I find *tua'a* given as meaning

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369.
[2] Turner, p. 365.
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 476, 481.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 477.
[5] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369.

a brother's brother, or a sister's sister, or a father who had preceded in name or office but was dead.

Tuangane was the term applied by a woman to her brother[1]. Rivers says the term was used in the same wide sense as *uso*[2]; and von Bülow includes in the term the brothers, half-brothers and cousins of different degrees of relationship of a woman, all of them being affected by the brother-sister bond[3].

Tuafafine was the term applied by a man to his sister, and according to Rivers and von Bülow it was used in the same wide sense as *tuangane*[4].

Tei. According to Pratt's dictionary this meant a younger brother or sister; and *faatei* were younger brethren and cousins "who were marked with their brother." I imagine the words which I have quoted in inverted commas simply mean that the term included younger cousins, as they were regarded as brothers. Percy Smith, in discussing the relationship terms of the island of Niue, refers to the Samoan term *tei*, which if I understand him rightly, he says was the younger brother of a brother or younger sister of a sister[5]—that is, it could not be used as between the sexes. Krämer defines the word as meaning the younger brother or younger sister[6]. He also says the companions of the *taupou*, or village maid, were called *tei*, which meant literally "younger sister"[7]. These companions would obviously include a number of girls who were not children of the *taupou's* parents, many of them, perhaps, not even very closely related. Some of them would often be older than her in years; but she was, I imagine, regarded as older in the sense of being superior[8]; I compare this with the use of *matua* for certain councillors.

Uso o le tama and *tuangane o le tina* were, according to Pratt's dictionary, the terms for the paternal and maternal uncles respectively[9]. These were evidently only composite expressions, the words *tama* and *tina* being used with their meanings of father and mother.

Tane a le afafine and *tane a lana tama* meant, according to Pratt's dictionary, a son-in-law of a man and woman respec-

[1] Pratt, p. 210. Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169. Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369.
[2] Cf. Turner, p. 365. [3] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 140.
[4] Pratt. Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 369. Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 140. Cf. Turner, p. 365.
[5] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169. [6] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 481.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 370. Cf. p. 374.
[8] Cf. the words *Le tupu* used for the highest title of chief, and which means literally "the grown" (Stair, p. 65). [9] Pratt, p. 67.

tively[1]. These also were evidently composite expressions; *lana* was the possessive pronoun.

Ilamutu and *tamasa*. Brown apparently treats these two terms, and also *tamafafine* (referred to above) as synonymous, giving to *tamasa* the linguistic meaning of sacred child or person. He says that *tamasa* or *tamafafine* was practically the same as the *vasu* of Fiji, except that in the latter case the term seems to have had a wide range, as a man of Fiji might be *vasu* to a whole town or district[2]. Pritchard identifies what he calls the system known in Samoa as *tamasa* with that of *tamaha* in Tonga and *vasu* in Fiji[3]; and he defines the Samoan term as meaning a nephew on the mother's side, by which it is evident from the context that he refers to a sister's son[4]. Krämer says *tamasa* was the term applied to the children of a sister[5]; but that it was used specially for her son[6]. He applies the term *ilamutu* to the posterity of the sister[7]; Schultz, after saying that all male persons descended on the male side from the common ancestor were called *tamatane*, says their cognates (male from female) were called *tamafafine*, *tamasa* or *tamafanau*[8]. He applies the term *ilamutu* or *feangainga* to the relationship of brother to sister, and says it affected the issue of both sides[9]. Stuebel does not, I think, offer us clean-cut definitions; but we can infer something from his uses of terms. In one place he uses the term *ilamutu* with reference to brother and sister relationship[10]. In another he refers to the case of a chief being sister's son (*ilamutu* or *tamasa*) of another chief[11]. He refers to a chief who had a *tamasa* and many *tamafafine*, and apparently, though this is not clear, treats the relationship of a woman and her son to her brother's son and to the son of the latter as all coming within the meaning of the term *tamasa*, whilst a sister was called *tamafafine*[12]. Von Bülow says that the bond of relationship between a brother and sister was called the bond of the *tamasa*, of the *ilamutu*, and later on refers to a specific case in which the brother and sister bond of *ilamutu* or *tamasa* had persisted as between their respective posterities[13]. Fraser uses the term *tamafafine* with the meaning of sister's son[14]. In Pratt's

[1] Pratt, p. 62.
[2] Brown, p. 41. Cf. Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, p. 158.
[3] Pritchard, p. 393.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 72 *note*.
[5] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 481.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 477.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 51.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 49.
[10] Stuebel, p. 89.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 106.
[12] *Ibid.* pp. 110 *sq.*
[13] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 140.
[14] Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 203 *note* 12.

dictionary I find *tamasa* defined as meaning the children of a sister, and *tamafafine* the daughter of a woman, or children of a sister; whilst *ilamutu* is given as meaning cousins; the relationship sustained by the children of an aunt to the children of her brother after the brother and sister are dead; a father's sister. It is obvious that there has been a considerable amount of confusion between these terms; but I shall consider the terms *tamasa* and *ilamutu* later on.

I have confined myself so far to terminology. I will now refer to evidence of a few relationship customs. In doing this I shall use English words, where the authors quoted do so, and *vice versa*; where the word used is Samoan, it would be wise to refer in each case to the definitive explanation by the author quoted, as given above.

Mother's brother

A sister's children might, according to Pritchard, with impunity do what they liked with, and take what they liked from, their mother's brother or his children[1]. He also refers to a practice for objects, such as canoes, to be dedicated to the family god, and so become sacred, which he associates in part with the strategy of the head of the family, as priest of the god, for protecting the objects in question from the right of the *tamasa* to appropriate them[2]. There is a missionary tale of a dance proposed to be held in a house belonging to the head chief of a village, but for which his consent had not been obtained; the chief, on hearing the noise, immediately stepped in and stopped the dance, saying that only his sister's son had a right to make free use of his house[3].

Stanley tells a story (narrated to him in 1873 by the American Consul at Apia, who had married a Samoan woman) of a chief called Bullamacow, who on visiting his uncle in effect asked the latter to give him a bread-fruit storage house which the uncle had recently constructed at ruinous expense. The uncle did not consent; so the chief kidnapped his wife "as is the custom in these cases." The uncle, longing to have his wife back, eventually decided to give up the house; but, as this was not, after what had occurred, enough, he went to the nephew chief with a present of pigs, and ultimately the wife was restored, and the bread-fruit house was handed to the chief; but the uncle was ruined. In connection with this tale Stanley

[1] Pritchard, pp. 72 *note*, 393. [2] *Ibid.* p. 109. [3] Brown, p. 42.

was told that if a nephew took a fancy to his uncle's gun, he would go and take it, and in case of difficulty, would report the matter to his mother, who would enforce compliance by her brother (the uncle) by pronouncing a curse upon his family. He was also told by the Consul that during fighting men used often to bring guns to his house to save them from their nephews, and sometimes slept with guns lashed to their legs; but the nephews had come and taken them away even then. This right of a nephew was said to be connected with "a custom called *vasu*, which prevailed in the islands, as regarded the rights of a nephew to his uncle's property," these rights being confined, however, to the children of the eldest sister[1]. Rivers expressed a doubt as to this being a Samoan tale, suggesting in effect that it had perhaps come from Fiji, where *vasu* was the recognized term for a sister's son[2]. To this comment Stanley replied that he still thought the Consul was speaking of Samoa. There is also more information upon the matter, supplied by Goodenough, who was with Stanley in Apia, and who among other things tells the story of Bullamacow. His version of it, though similar in narrative to the other, differs somewhat as to the *dramatis personae* concerned; but it is interesting in that it tells us that Bullamacow was the chief of Saluafata[3], which, according to Krämer's map of Upolu, was a village district of the Atua division of the island; and this suggests that the episode took place in Samoa. I point out that Stanley's statements do not go further than those of Pritchard; so, if the latter is correct, the former may well be so also. Of course the term *vasu* was Fijian, but it may have been used on this occasion in Samoa by Stanley and Goodenough, who had previously been studying customs in Fiji. Concerning Stanley's statement that it was only the children of the eldest sister who had these rights, I may say that I have found no mention of this by any other writer[4]. One would expect that the rights would be accentuated in the case of the children of some one sister regarded as specially important, who might well be actually the eldest, or regarded as the eldest by virtue of her

[1] Stanley, *Folk-lore*, vol. XIII, pp. 75 *sq.*

[2] Rivers, *Folk-lore*, vol. XIII, p. 199.

[3] *Folk-lore*, vol. XIII, pp. 199 *sqq.* Dr Rivers has told me that this name is only an English word used for "tinned meat." This does not, however, affect the fact that the man in question seems to have been a Samoan.

[4] It is stated that in Tonga a man paid special respect to his *eldest* sister (Mariner, vol. II, p. 135).

importance. Probably, in the case of the family of a ruling chief, the *taupou* would be regarded, for this purpose, as the eldest sister[1].

Krämer tells a story which is perhaps an illustration of the claims which a man had against his mother's brother, or rather, I should perhaps say, of the natural parental duties of that brother towards his nephew. According to the tale, a chief was lying ill and was being attended by his mother's brother; but the chief asked that that uncle's son should come and attend him during his illness. The uncle hesitated at complying because of the bad character of the boy; but as the chief insisted, the uncle gave way, and he and the boy both attended the sick chief. The uncle's fears as to the boy were justified, for the latter misconducted himself with the chief's wife; but on the uncle reporting this to the chief, the latter made no complaint, merely saying "let it be, for I am weak," and expressing the hope that his wife would have a child by the boy[2]. I must point out that Krämer does not give this story as an illustration of the special relationship between a person and his mother's brother; and it may be that the attention by the latter to the former was merely a matter of friendship, not based upon any special duty.

I have already referred to Krämer's use of the term *mea sa*, or sacred gift, as applying to a present given by a brother to his sister; he also applies it to a present given to a sister's son by his uncles[3], by which he evidently means maternal uncles.

A Samoan wedding was an occasion for an interchange of presents between the families of the bride and bridegroom, the gifts by the bride's family to that of the bridegroom being composed mainly of fine mats and native cloth made by the women; and here, according to Stuebel, there were customs connected with a sister's son. In one place he refers, in connection with the division of these mats among the bridegroom's family, to a special mat, called *laufau*, which was given to the *tamasa*, by which in this case is clearly meant the son of the sister of the father of the bridegroom[4]. Elsewhere he refers again to this practice, and says the mat given to this sister's son, called the *mea sa* [sacred gift] of the chief, was a specially

[1] See reference to term *tei*, as applied to the companions of the *taupou*, and my foot-note as to the term *le tupu*.

[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 266 *sq.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 477. [4] Stuebel, p. 120.

fine one[1]. Krämer says that, on the bringing in at a girl's wedding of her mats for distribution among the bridegroom's people, the fine *laufau* mats were brought in first, and were given to the son of the sister of the chief [the chief being, I gather from the context, the father of the bridegroom][2]. Hood refers to the same practice, and explains that the requirements of sisters had to be provided at all hazards, for fear of the calamity of the sister's curse[3]. This seems to be consistent with a recognition of a right for a man to claim a valuable property which would otherwise go to his mother's brother, the mother's brother being in this case the father of the bridegroom. In another passage, referring apparently to a general custom (not only in connection with marriages) of distribution of fine mats by a chief, Stuebel speaks of the relationship of a chief to his sister, whom he designates *tamafafine*. He then says that, if the chief was distributing fine mats, and there was no question of a *tamasa* (♂), the first mats were given to the children of the chief's sister or *tamafafine*; but if a *tamasa* had a share in the mats, the first mats were brought to the *tamasa*, and then afterwards the mats for the children of the sister[4]. In view of the confusion or uncertainty as to terminology it is impossible to be sure as to Stuebel's meaning in this. He apparently has in mind the possible presence of a *tamasa*, who was not the child of the sister of the chief, and who in that case would be given mats before they were. I suspect, however, that the *tamasa* to whom he refers was the son of the sister of the chief's father—that is the chief's cross-cousin.

Pritchard says that in war a young chief, related to both the opposing parties, might sometimes make his peace with the party against which he was fighting, provided it was his mother's side, and she was a lady of very high rank, and that it was under his privilege as a *tamasa* that he was sheltered. He could afterwards, if he liked, return to his former comrades, taking with him whatever arms, etc., he could lay hands on[5]. This seems to imply that, if his mother was of sufficient rank among her own people to be able to influence their conduct of the war, she could gain protection for her son, as her brothers and their families would not be able to refuse it, because of his rights as sister's son; and the young chief's right of carrying off the arms of the enemy (his mother's people) and taking

[1] Stuebel, p. 106. [2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 38.
[3] Hood, p. 123. [4] Stuebel, p. 110. [5] Pritchard, pp. 71 *sq.*

them to his own party (his father's people) shows the far reaching character of his rights as *tamasa*. Apparently this immunity of a man at the hands of his mother's brothers was turned to advantage by his father's people for the purpose of using him as an envoy of peace in the event of fighting between the paternal and maternal families. Pratt tells us of a *tuimanu'a* Lelolonga who took for his fourth wife Sina, the daughter of Taua-lunga of Fitiuta, and says that he appointed his son by this marriage as peacemaker for Fitiuta, to walk among the dead, and to be pure water for his own district[1]. Now the residence of the *tuimanu'a* was, as we have seen, the village district of Tau, the governmental centre of the Manu'an islands, on the western coast of the island of Tau. The village district of Fitiuta was on the eastern coast; and we have seen that, according to Manu'an legends, it had been the home of the original divine *tuimanu'a* (a member of the Tangaroa family of heaven) and the original seat of government. There appear to have been contentions, and apparently fighting, between these two rival centres; and it was probably in connection with this that the *tuimanu'a* at Tau relied upon the power and immunity of his son by the Fitiutan wife, as between that son and her people, as represented by her brothers, to secure for himself (the *tuimanu'a*) terms of peace, if it should be desired. Krämer says that the *tamasa*, or sister's son, could go safely before the battle into the enemy camp to visit his relations[2]; but on another page he qualifies this by applying it only to a case in which the opposite party was that of the powerful family of his mother[3], which would obviously be the case.

It is easy to imagine the great value which the powerful claim of a man against his mother's brothers might have to him and his father's people and the uses to which it might be put. As a possible illustration of this I will refer to what appears to have been a Samoan marriage custom. Pritchard says chiefs might have as many wives as they pleased and might change them and put them away for others; when young, and not invested with tribal honours and power, they made their selection from among the daughters of commoners—girls of lower rank than themselves; but when a chief attained to official rank in his tribe he took a wife of as high a rank as possible[4]. According to Churchward, the inhabitants of each town sought

[1] Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxvi, pp. 296 *sq.*
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. ii, pp. 340 *sq.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 59. [4] Pritchard, p. 153.

marital alliances in as many other towns as possible, the further off the better, so that they would have friends in any part they might wish to go to, and allies in case of war[1]. Now an investigation of Krämer's genealogies discloses the custom for chiefs to marry, not only women of high degree, but daughters of minor chiefs and orators in other districts. Some of these, who entertained the hope that their children would succeed to the high rank of the chief, remained among his people, though they often returned to their own homes when they found their prospects were not good[2]. The genealogies, and Krämer's notes upon them, show, however, that subsidiary marriages were often entered into by great chiefs with the daughters of minor chiefs and orators in outside districts and villages[3]; and the custom in these cases seems to have been for these wives to return to their own homes, or at all events—what is more important for my present purpose—for the sons born of the marriages to live in the old homes of their mothers, and not in those of their more distinguished fathers; in this way great chiefs obtained the advantage, referred to by Churchward, of forming branches of their families, and so securing friends outside their own dominions. Many examples of marriages of this character, in which the sons of the marriages lived in their mother's homes can be found in Krämer's genealogies and greetings; but these would not demonstrate a custom. There are, however, two cases concerning which Krämer makes comments which appear to indicate that it was the custom. The *tuiaana* Tupua, having had by his second wife a son who afterwards inherited the title, married the daughter of a local chief or orator in the village district of Falefa in Atua, and they had a son Luafalemana; and Krämer says that, *as this son's mother derived from Falefa* (the italics are mine), he lived there and was buried there, and his descendants lived there[4]. The other case is that of Ngalumalemana *tafa'ifa* (of the Aana line) who married the daughter of a man in the village district of Matautu in Savai'i, her mother having been a woman of Asau in Savai'i, and this place being the girl's home. They had a son Nofoasaefa, who lived in Asau; and Krämer's comment is that, *as the girl's mother derived from Asau* (my italics), the son Nofoasaefa went thither, and his descendant Tamasese in recent times founded the *ainga* Mavaenga there[5].

[1] Churchward, p. 47. [2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 38.
[3] Cf. *Ibid.* p. 10. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 172, 299. [5] *Ibid.* pp. 172, 102.

It is obvious that, if the sons of these marriages, living among their mother's people, could claim from her brothers there the immense rights of a sister's son with which we are now dealing, these rights might be extremely valuable to the families of their fathers. I find no suggestion by Krämer that the obtaining of these specific advantages was a motive for the marriages; but, if we compare what occurred there with what is reported from Fiji, we may well believe that it was so. Pritchard, who says that in Fiji a *vasu* (sister's son) had the right to appropriate anything belonging to the brothers of his mother, tells us that the great chiefs of the district of Bau (which, I may say, is on the west coast of Viti Levu, where the people are a mixture of Melanesian and Polynesian) tried to obtain wives from as many different districts as possible, "their object being to possess as many *vasu* to different districts as possible"; and he adds that the chiefs of Mathuata, to oppose the designs of the Bau chiefs, whenever they were obliged to send a great lady to be the wife of one of them, always instructed her to destroy her children before birth; and that these instructions were carried out[1].

It is noticeable that in a large number of cases the greetings at the *fono* of places, where branch families had been established by previous marriages in the way described above, special mention was made of the sons of those marriages, the fathers being hardly ever mentioned. The persons greeted would, of course, be the living representatives of those sons, called by their names. I do not think this proves anything; but it seems to emphasise the importance attached to the sons.

Brother and sister, and father's sister

I now propose to introduce evidence which relates apparently to the relationship between either a brother and sister or a person and his or her father's sister, without attempting to classify it.

Certain special features of brother and sister relationship have already been discussed in connection with matrilineal descent. There were also customs of avoidance, or rather, perhaps, restrictions on conduct, evidently based upon matrimonial or sexual prohibition, or whatever else may have been the origin of brother and sister avoidance. Pritchard says the remotest reference, even by way of joke, to anything which

[1] Pritchard, pp. 329 *sq.*

conveyed the slightest indelicacy in thought or gesture was prohibited when brothers and sisters were together. In the presence of his sister the wildest rake was always modest and moral; and in the presence of her brother the most accommodating coquette was chaste and reserved[1]. Krämer says the relation between brother and sister was a sacred one, and this was so as between male and female cousins [who would under the classificatory system be brothers and sisters]. No brother or male relation would be present at a dance where a sister or female relative disported herself in unrestrained fashion, and no man would use an obscene word in the presence of female relations. The children of a brother also had to pay special politeness to the children of a sister[2]. Brown says a man was careful not to expose his person before his sister or her children, and would be very careful not to use in their presence any indelicate word such as "the loins"; though he would not scruple to use such a word before any other woman[3].

Kubary says that when a woman was being delivered of a child she lay with her head resting on the knees of her husband, and that her father, and when possible her eldest brother, sat behind his back, whilst the mother and sisters sat at the feet of the patient[4]. In view of the general practice of avoidance between brother and sister, his presence on this occasion seems rather remarkable.

It is just possible that we may see the counterpart of this brotherly duty in a sister's duty when her brother was being tattooed. It was a custom in Samoa, when the son of a chief was tattooed, for other young men of the village to be tattooed also. Krämer refers to the presence of women and girls to give the youths courage and prevent them from crying out, and says that even the village maiden [the chief's daughter, called the *taupou*] was often accustomed to be present. He then says, as to the chief's son, that it was usual for five or six girls of the village presided over by the boy's father to sit round the patient, holding and massaging his head, laying their hands on body and limbs, to keep them very still so that the muscles

[1] Pritchard, p. 125. Cf. Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxv, p. 145. Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 140. Stuebel, p. 89.

[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 481. Cf. p. 33. As regards the children, politeness by a male to a female might well be based on an extension of brother and sister avoidance. In other respects its basis may have been the idea of the superiority of the sister, which I have connected with matrilineal descent.

[3] Brown, p. 42.

[4] Kubary, *Globus*, vol. XLVII, p. 70.

should not be stretched and the patterns distorted and moved out of place[1]. It may almost be assumed that the *taupou* would be one of those who attended her own brother, and would take the honourable position at his head.

Krämer refers to a frequent custom for girls, when there were sons, to be given at an early age to someone outside the home, especially to the sister of the master of the house[2]—that is, I take it, the girl's father; and this leads me to an interesting statement by Turner, that when a newly-married woman took up her abode in the family of her husband, she was attended by a daughter of her brother, who in fact came as a concubine of the husband. Her brother considered that, if he did not give up his daughter for this purpose, he would fail in duty and respect towards his sister, and incur the displeasure of their household god[3]. I may say that the general effect of the evidence on this subject seems to be that it was usually the wife's sister who went with her to her husband.

Stuebel refers to a curious custom. He is speaking of the dying instructions given by a chief to his son as to the attitude to be adopted by the latter towards the chief's sister, who had married a high chief of another district, and her son; among other things, the chief said that if his son's son should marry, the *titi*, or loin apron of *ti* leaves, worn by the bride, should be brought to the dying chief's sister and her son[4].

A man's sister had some functional duties in connection with his burial. Krämer says that when the corpse lay in the grave, apparently before the latter was filled in, with the head turned towards the east, the sister sat at the head, and waving a piece of white bark cloth, cried "Compassion! Go with a good will and without vexation against us. Take all our illnesses with thee, and let us live." Then, pointing to the west, she cried "There is disaster," and pointing towards the east, she cried "There is happiness"; and then turning to the south, she cried "Down there is misery, leave us in happiness." Krämer associates the east with the idea of sunrise, hope, life, and the west with that of sunset and death[5]. Stair says that this function was performed by "the *ilamutu*, or near relative of the deceased, a sister, if one survived"[6]. In Pratt's dictionary one of the meanings given to the word *talo* is "to wave a piece

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 68. Cf. Pritchard, p. 143.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 59. [3] Turner, p. 96. [4] Stuebel, p. 110.
[5] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, pp. 103 *sq.* [6] Stair, p. 183.

of *tutunga* over the dead, begging him to take calamities and diseases with him." Brown tells us that only a sister or sister's child had the privilege of sitting at the head of the grave, and breaking the bottle of scented oil to pour over the uncovered face of a dead man[1].

Observations

It is desirable that, before discussing this evidence, I should draw attention to certain ideas as to relationship customs, in the light of which we should, I think, consider it. The special relationship to a person of his or her mother's brother, is, I think, generally recognized as being based on the fact that under a system of matrilineal descent children of a marriage are members, not of their father's family group, but of that of their mother, so that it is the mother's brother, and not the father, that stands in a sort of parental relationship to her children. The attitude of a brother to his sister is attributed to sexual avoidance, he and she being of the same family group, and not therefore being persons who could properly intermarry or indulge in sexual intercourse. I have, however, drawn attention, in the chapter on matrilineal descent, to certain matters which point to something more than mere sexual avoidance, and have suggested that the probable explanation of them is that, with matrilineal descent, carrying with it eligibility for succession, the family relationship would, on the death of the brother, pass not to his descendants, but to those of his sister, who, as the proper channel of descent and succession, was endowed with a certain degree of importance, and indeed of sanctity. The development of a system of patrilineal descent, and the still more decided development of patrilineal succession, had transferred the primary right as to succession to the descendants of the brother; but the right of the sister's descendants was also still recognized to a certain extent, and my contention was that some of the evidence to which I referred might be attributed to the confusion between the two systems and the rivalry which this involved.

The subject of customs connected with the relationship of a person to his father's sister is a matter which has been investigated by Rivers in Melanesia. He says that a fact, wholly new, brought out by his work in Oceanea, was the existence of

[1] Brown, pp. 41 *sq.* Cf Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxiv, p. 203 *note* 10.

special functions associated with the relationship between a woman and her brother's son. He met with these functions first in Tonga, where a man honoured his father's sister more than any other relative, and was in ancient days punished with death if he disobeyed her. A woman still arranged the marriage of her brother's son, and could veto one arranged by the man or his parents. The father's sister could take anything belonging to her nephew, while the latter could only take the possessions of his aunt with her permission, thus reversing the usual mode of conduct of a man towards his mother's brother. In the one case it was the senior who had a right to property; in the other it was the junior who exercised the right, even if at one time the right had been reciprocal. There were also certain avoidances between a woman and her brother's children, and certain duties in connection with ceremonial. Since social institutions in Tonga were largely patrilineal, his first impression on hearing of these customs was that they were a variant of the frequent relation with the mother's brother, associated in some way with the change to father-right. The idea that the customs in question were especially connected with patrilineal descent was dispelled on reaching Pentecost Island, where he found a similar condition associated with matrilineal descent. He then refers to certain customs and practices which prevailed in Pentecost and some other Melanesian Islands. In Pentecost Island, where he only obtained superficial evidence, it was clear that a woman chose a wife for her brother's son, and that a man had to obey his father's sister in other respects. The element of avoidance, was, however, less decided than in Tonga. A more complete account was obtained in the Banks Islands, where the high honour in which the father's sister was held was evident. In these islands she had the decisive voice in the choice of a wife for her nephew, while a woman who desired illicit sexual intercourse with a man had first to obtain the consent of the sister of the man's father. Community of goods existed between the pair, but with certain limitations. The element of avoidance was distinctly present. A woman performed a number of functions during ceremonies connected with her brother's child. Especially important was the part she played in the proceedings that determined the parentage of the child, and consequently settled whether she herself would occupy the position of father's sister towards the child. The separated umbilical cord was first offered to the own sister

of the father of the child, and after her customary refusal it was given to a woman who stood in the relation of father's sister in the classificatory sense. The father's sister might keep the nail-parings of the child in the same way. The possession of these articles entailed the giving of feasts to the women. In various rites which followed the birth of a first-born child, the father's sister had an important share, while she took the leading part in the rite of initiation into one of the ranks of the *sukwe* [a Banks Island society], this being the only occasion on which women participated in the ritual of this institution. In the Torres Islands the functions of the father's sister seemed to be less elaborate and important than in the Banks. In Hiw [one of the Torres Islands] the prominent fact was that a man could marry, and often did marry, his father's sister, while in Loh [another of them] all that was learnt was that she had the power of forbidding his marriage if she chose. In Vanikolo [one of the Santa Cruz Islands] a man respected and obeyed his father's sister, and there was also to a certain extent community of goods. There, however, a woman had no voice in deciding whom her brother's son should marry, though, the decision once made, it was her duty to help her nephew to pay for his wife. In Santa Cruz [the main island of the group of that name] the father's sister took a newly-born child from its mother on the third day after birth. She chose a wife for her nephew, and made contributions on various occasions in his life[1].

Rivers then discusses this evidence from various points of view, and concludes the discussion by saying that "there is thus a consensus of evidence pointing first to the functions of the father's sister being of relatively recent development, and secondly to their close connection with her former position as a potential wife"[2].

He engages in a further discussion which I do not propose to follow in detail; but I will draw attention to a few matters with which it deals. Rivers points out that there would still have to be explained the fact that the right of veto [of a man's marriage] should rest with his father's sister, and not with other potential wives, and that there were other functions of the father's sister which her position as a potential wife does not explain. The confinement of these matters to the father's

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, pp. 160 *sqq*.
[2] *Ibid*. pp. 162 *sq*.

sister, to the exclusion of all the other potential wives, is associated by him with the growing recognition of the relation of a father to his child, and the exceptional position of his sister as a member of the opposite and more or less hostile moiety of a dual people [that is, of course, in relation to the child and not the father], while at the same time a near relative. As the father acquired more and more power in connection with his child, it is to be expected that he would put into the hands of his sister those functions which should be performed by a woman. We have evidence, he says, that it is the duty of the members of one moiety to help those of the other, especially at such epochs as birth, initiation and death; and he suggests that any such functions as fell to the lot of women of the opposite moiety were, as the father acquired increased power, placed by him in the hands of his sister, and thus her many functions in connection with ceremonial would arise[1].

Rivers says that another factor which might explain certain features of the relation between a woman and her brother's child is the practice of avoidance between brother and sister. When a child becomes aware of the fact that his father scrupulously avoids his sister, this might well lead to an emotion of awe on the part of the child in connection with its father's sister, which would account for the special respect paid to this relative. In other words, the relation between a woman and her brother's child would be a secondary consequence of the avoidance between brother and sister; and if so, there would be evidence that this avoidance had had a wider distribution in past Melanesian society than it has at present. This, however, would only explain the respect paid to the father's sister, and would not account for the many other functions of this relative. It does not seem likely that the brother and sister avoidance has played any essential part in the genesis of these functions, though it may in some cases have contributed to enhance the respect already due to the father's sister for other reasons. Then again, after further discussing the matter, he says that it is possible that the connection of these duties and privileges [of the father's sister] with the more limited relationship has been due to the later development of a more collective custom; but taken in conjunction with other facts already mentioned [by him] this character of the functions of the father's sister sug-

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 160–4.

gests that they came into being after individual had been clearly distinguished from classification relationship[1].

I have tried to state what were the underlying ideas upon which, according to ethnological opinion, were, or may have been, based the relationships of mother's brother, sister and father's sister respectively, regarding these as three separate and distinct categories, which, indeed, they seem to have been —at all events to some extent; but a consideration of the detailed evidence to which I have referred makes it clear, I think, that many of the practices of which writers tell us can hardly be assumed to come under one category only, and that even when a custom seems to come primarily under one category, it is sometimes conceivably possible that this custom, or part of it, was based or partly based upon ideas that come within another category. I propose to go through the Samoan evidence to show that this seems to be so.

Taking first the relationship of a sister to her brother, the practices of restraint as between a brother and his sister to which I have referred in this chapter may well have been based merely on sexual avoidance; but I will say a few words as to the evidence that has appeared in the chapter on matrilineal descent. It seems clear that this points to something more than mere sexual avoidance. I draw attention to statements concerning the sacred character of the sister in relation to her brother; as to the powers which she possessed; as to the submission he had to show to her; as to her prerogatives over him; as to his duty of fulfilling her wishes in matters which obviously applied to him personally; as to her powers over him at council meetings and concerning matters relating to the family; and as to the way in which her powers, or some of them, appear to have passed to her children, so as to be exercised by her and them over him and his children, and to have so continued that generations afterwards her descendants had some degree of authority over his. I have suggested that the origin of all this has been matrilineal descent. Here we have two examples of possible misinterpretation of the evidence; for submission of her brother to her children might have been based upon the idea of family relationship between a person and his mother's brother as distinguished from his father; and submission of the brother's children to his sister might have been connected with the

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, pp. 164 *sq.*

rights of a father's sister. On the other hand, submission by his children to her children does not come obviously within either of these systems; but it would be in accord with the idea of superiority of a sister to a brother, which passed to their respective descendants in the way disclosed in the chapter on matrilineal descent.

The evidence to which I have referred in this chapter as to the attitude of a man towards his mother's brother, or much of it, might be quite independent of the origin to which the relationship of a person with his mother's brother is generally attributed. It might, if, as appears to have been the case, the sanctity and powers of a sister over her brother were, as such, shared by her children, have its origin in the brother and sister relationship; and if, as Pritchard says, the rights of a person could be asserted, not only as against his maternal uncle, but as against that uncle's children, it would not be consistent with the conception of the origin of the mother's brother relationship. Stanley's indication that the willingness of the uncle to be despoiled by his nephew was due to his fear of the curse of his sister (the nephew's mother) introduces a feature to which I have referred in the chapter on matrilineal descent, suggesting that it might be attributed to the superior sanctity of the sister, and the consequent dangerous character of her curse; it is not a feature of our conception of the mother's brother relationship. The right of the son of the sister of the father of a bridegroom, to have what was evidently a specially fine mat may be compared with the right, referred to in the chapter on matrilineal descent, of a sister to have a specially fine mat on her brother's accession to the title; and if the latter right may, as I have suggested, be attributed to the recognition of a possible superior right of a sister's son to the succession on the death of the brother, the former may perhaps have had a similar origin, and here again we have Hood's reference to the fear of the sister's curse. I may point out as to this matter that the marriage of the chief's son, and possible successor, would be an important event, and the demand for the fine mat might be based upon an ever outstanding possible claim to the succession by the son of the chief's sister, which had to be bought out by generous gifts on important family occasions. We have seen, in the chapter on matrilineal descent, evidence of a continuing outstanding possible claim by the descendants of a sister against those of a brother, which had to be bought

out with a mat, and it may be that this claim was used as a weapon for levying, on important occasions, a sort of blackmail. I do not understand what is Stuebel's exact meaning when he refers to possible alternative claimants for mats; but I will assume that the *tamasa*, to whom he refers, was the son of the sister of the chief's father. If this was so, his meaning seems to be that this relation had the first claim to mats, whilst the next claim was that of the children of the chief's own sister; and that, if there was no *tamasa*, these children had the first claim. In that case it appears that the chief might have to meet a double claim, one being that of the son of his father's sister, and the other by the children of his own sister.

It is easy to understand that, as the maternal uncle, and not the father, was, with matrilineal descent, the true family relation of his nephew or niece, the uncle would hold a sort of parental relationship towards his nephew, with the paternal rights and duties which this involved. Such a relationship would explain rights, which have been observed in various places, of the mother's brother to control the conduct of his nephew when young, and to require personal service by him and other things of a similar character, and duties in connection with his up-bringing and providing, under certain conditions, for his wants, and a special degree of personal association between the two. It seems quite inadequate, however, to explain the extraordinary rights of the nephew to appropriate his maternal uncle's belongings, such as prevailed in Fiji and Samoa. I have therefore referred to evidence from Melanesia (other than Fiji) and Melanesian New Guinea, to see to what extent this right of appropriation has been found there. Codrington, after referring to the extraordinary rights of the *vasu* in Fiji, says that the corresponding right was much less conspicuous and important in the Melanesian islands west of Fiji; though it was a matter of course that the nephew should look to his mother's brother for help of every kind, and that the uncle should look upon his sister's son as his special care[1]. Rivers, however, reports that a man could appropriate anything belonging to his mother's brother in the Banks Islands[2]; and in Vanikolo of the Santa Cruz Islands[3], and that in the Reef Islands a man and his mother's brother shared each other's

[1] Codrington, p. 34.
[2] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 37.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 225.

possessions[1]. According to Seligman, among the Koita people of British New Guinea a man and his maternal uncle had a mutual right of borrowing each other's things[2]; and among the Wagawaga and Tubetube people of eastern New Guinea, a man would not grumble if his sister's child borrowed his gear during his absence, or helped himself to his garden produce[3]. Apparently, then, this right of appropriation, or at least of borrowing, the property of a mother's brother was not confined in Melanesia to Fiji. It is possible, I suppose, that the right was based upon, or had its origin in, the idea of community of ownership, such as is reported from the Reef Islands, and perhaps implied by the mutual right of borrowing among the Koita people; but this explanation would not account for the one-sided rights of the nephew, as against his maternal uncle, as they appear to have existed in Fiji, the Banks Islands, Vanikolo, perhaps in parts of eastern New Guinea, and in Samoa.

A possible explanation, so far as Samoa is concerned, of the right of a nephew to pillage his maternal uncle would be that it is comparable with the right of a sister or sister's son to make demands for mats, being a day to day exercise of the system of blackmail which I have suggested, and to which the uncle would submit in order to retain her friendship, notwithstanding her son's possible prior right to succession, and thus avoid her terrible curse[4]. It must be remembered, however, that the explanation of the giving of these mats which, I have proposed, was based upon the contemporaneous partial survival of matrilineal descent and presence of a general system of patrilineal succession, the claimant under patrilineal succession having to buy out, as it were, possible claims arising from a system of matrilineal descent and succession, which had survived to a limited extent. It is obvious that, under a true system of matrilineal descent and succession, the qualification for succession on the death of a chief would pass to his sister's son, and not to his own, so that no question of compensation or buying out by his own son of his sister's son would arise. It follows therefore that, though my suggested explanation seems to be logically consistent, so far as Samoa is concerned,

[1] *Ibid.* p. 230.
[2] Seligman, p. 67.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 483.
[4] But see Hocart (*Man*, vol. XXIII, pp. 11 *sqq.*), who suggests a totally different explanation of a similar practice in Fiji.

it would not be applicable to the case of the Melanesian islands to which I have referred, unless there also succession was mainly patrilineal, even though descent was matrilineal, or largely so; and if it is not applicable to these islands, we must hesitate at accepting it for Samoa.

There is, I think, no doubt that patrilineal succession was well developed in Fiji, or parts of Fiji, and probably this would be the case at all events in places where the *vasu* system was prominent. As regards the other Melanesian islands, Rivers, having given some information from Pentecost Island, Lepers Island and the Banks Islands, says of Melanesia generally, "It thus appears that in so far as hereditary chieftainship exists in Melanesia, succession is always in the male line. There is not a single instance in which a chief is naturally succeeded by his sister's son. Whenever rank is definitely hereditary, succession is patrilineal; even in Pentecost and the Banks Islands it is patrilineal in so far as it is correct to speak of succession at all. It is thus clear that it is only correct to speak of the greater part of Melanesia as matrilineal if the application of that term be limited to descent. In the matter of succession the part of Melanesia with which I deal is patrilineal throughout"[1]. It follows, therefore, that the system of succession in these Melanesian islands to which I have referred was similar to that of Samoa; so the possible objection to my argument is removed. There is another statement by Rivers which I cannot refrain from quoting. He says: "The relationship between a man and his mother's brother is very close throughout the Banks Islands. In the olden days there is no doubt that the sister's son would have been the heir of his uncle, and would have taken all his property, including any objects of magical value; but at the present time this has been much modified. There are, even now, complicated regulations enjoining certain payments from the children of a dead man to his sister's children; but at the present time when these payments have once been made, the sister's children have no further right to the property of their uncle"[2]. Rivers is speaking here of what I am calling "inheritance" of property, and not of either descent or succession; but the custom for the children of a dead man, on inheriting his property, to make payments to the children of his sister, evidently for the purpose of satisfying their claim to inheritance, based upon the system of matrilineal descent, may be compared

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, pp. 99 *sqq.* [2] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 37.

with my suggestions as to the meaning of the Samoan practice, under which a man, on succeeding to a title, had to give a valuable mat to his sister, with which practice I have associated that connected with mat giving at a wedding. I point out that Rivers's account of the former is in principle consistent with my suggested explanation of the latter.

The practice to which Turner refers, but which does not, I think, represent the more usual custom, for a man to send his daughter with his sister to live as a concubine of her husband, is attributed by Turner to the brother's sense of his duty to his sister. Very likely this was so; but if Turner had not offered this explanation, we might have been trying to explain it as coming within the duties of a daughter to her father's sister. Krämer may be referring to a practice based upon a similar idea.

I have found no reference by any other writer to any practice such as is suggested by what Stuebel tells us of the dying chief's instructions to his son. Apparently the son himself was placed under some duties to the chief's sister; but it was the son's son who was to hand his wife's loin apron to the chief's sister and her son. The bride's loin apron was obviously a garment of some sexual delicacy. If the bride whose apron was to be handed over had been that of the chief's son himself, and it had been given only to the sister I should be tempted to think that the duty of handing it to his father's sister might be connected in some way with a conception—to quote Rivers's comment referred to on a previous page—of her former position as a potential wife. The fact that it was the apron of the grandson's bride and the reference to the son of the chief's sister rather confuse the issue; but in view of the general state of muddle into which some of these relationship matters had developed, the connection seems still to have been possible, though even then it is difficult to understand why the sister's son should share in the gift.

The function at a man's funeral of which we are told by Krämer and Stair was performed by a man's sister, or if there were no sister, it was performed, according to Stair, by some other near relative; and that to which Brown refers was performed by the sister or sister's child. It seems clear that this was primarily a brother and sister matter, and so cannot be associated with Rivers's suggestion as to a duty performed by a father's sister as a member of the opposite and more or less

hostile moiety. Of course there were no such moieties in Samoa; but in considering these matters we must not disregard the possibility of systems and customs that had died out long ago, leaving their traces behind them.

Taking the evidence as a whole, and including in it that which has appeared in the chapter on matrilineal descent and my comments on it, we must, I think, recognize that whilst there was in Samoa a practice comparable with that of avoidance between brother and sister, the sister was also a very important, and indeed sacred person, a fact which I have attributed to the idea, based on a lingering partial continuance of a system of matrilineal descent, that it was through her, and not through her brother, that the kinship descent, carrying with it eligibility for succession, passed down to later generations; and I propose to take this factor as a basis for the consideration of all the evidence.

I begin with the relationship between a person and his mother's brother. Very likely some of the customs and practices which the evidence discloses were based upon, or had their origin in, the conception of the uncle's paternal relationship to his sister's children which was involved by matrilineal descent, and it is possible that the story of the ailing chief who was attended by his mother's brother is an example of some survival of the performance by the latter of his quasi-parental duties, notwithstanding the greatly-advanced position of the father. So also the claims against a man which could be made by his sister's son may be associated with the same original relationship practices up to a point; but the extraordinary powers which a sister's son is reported to have had of pillaging, and levying what I have called blackmail upon his uncle, can hardly be explained in this way. The practical relationship, under matrilineal descent, between a man and his mother's brother is, as I understand the views of ethnologists on the matter, simply one under which the paternal rights and obligations rested with the uncle, and not with the father; and as I know of no custom under which a son could pillage his father, when recognized as being such in the full kinship sense of the word, I cannot see why he should, under the system we are discussing, be able to do this as against the uncle as his kinship father. If I am justified in taking this view we must look for some other explanation of the matter, and I again suggest that this is to be found in the sanctity accorded

to a man's sister, and the powers and privileges she possessed as against him, based upon a lingering ancient belief that it was through her, and not through him that the family kinship, with all that it involved, passed down to subsequent generations.

The adoption of this explanation seems to remove some perplexities involved by the evidence. We can, on this basis, understand the evidence of which the combined effect is that the relative sanctity and the powers and privileges of a sister over her brother were shared by her children, and prevailed, not only as against him, but against his children also, which evidence may be compared with the evidence that has appeared in the chapter on matrilineal descent that her powers over and rights against him sometimes continued for generations as between their respective descendants.

Turning now to the question of the relationship of a person to his or her father's sister, there is no evidence from Samoa pointing to a probable connection of this relationship with a conception, or the traces of a past conception, of that sister as a potential wife, unless, indeed, we can so regard the statement as to the loin cloth of the young man's wife, and this is complicated by the inclusion of the aunt's son with herself as being entitled to receive it. The absence of this evidence does not, however, militate in the slightest degree against Rivers's suggested explanation, because, in view of the advanced state of the social systems in Samoa, it might well be that any practices that had pointed in the direction he suggests had died out. I do not for a moment question the accuracy of Rivers's hypothesis, which is based on Melanesian data, and his discussion of them, which I have not quoted here; and if his explanation is right as regards Melanesia, we may well expect that it would apply to Samoa also.

I suggest, however, that so far as Samoa is concerned, it is not the only explanation. It is clear that, according to Rivers's views, the person who stood in this special relationship to his father's sister would have to be one with whom it would be proper for her to marry, that is (with matrilineal descent) the nephew. I do not think Rivers contemplates the continuation of this special relationship with the father's sister to generations subsequent to that of her nephew; nor, indeed, do I see how he could do so, as with a definite dual system, some males of these generations would and some would not be of the group

other than hers; and when we are dealing in Samoa, not with a dual system, but with one of mere group or local exogamy, and still more when that system, whatever it may once have been, seems to have disappeared to some extent, and to have become confused by a considerable development of patrilineal descent, and perhaps by a widening out of the restrictive net of prohibition under rules against incest, it is obvious that we can only treat the subject from a broad and general point of view.

What I suggest is that, even if we accept Rivers's potential wife hypothesis as a factor with which the special relationship between a woman and her brother's son must be associated, much of the Samoan evidence points to practices which we can hardly explain in this way, but which may have arisen from the superior position of a woman, as compared with that of her brother, which has already been discussed. In considering the evidence I shall have to refer again to statements that I have mentioned already. The submission which a brother had to offer to his sister was extended to her children and was imposed on his children, and there is no suggestion that the question of absence of kinship with her entered into the matter; neither is there any suggestion that it was necessarily a matter of submission by a male to a female. The specially fine mat that had to be given at a wedding went, not to the father's sister, but to that sister's son; and indeed the general evidence as to these mats, including that appearing in the chapter on matrilineal descent, shows that the claimant of a mat might, in the case of descendants of a brother and sister, be a man. The loin cloth was given not merely to the sister of the chief but to her and her son. It is clear therefore that the evidence on these matters does not indicate that the rights and duties disclosed were necessarily between people of different kinship groups or of opposite sexes, whilst on the other hand the practices referred to might be explained by my suggestion of the superiority of the woman under a system of matrilineal descent; and I am inclined to regard this as an origin, though not necessarily the only origin, of the duties of a Samoan to his or her father's sister.

Rivers, in discussing the relationship between a man and his father's sister, refers, as we have seen, to the avoidance between the father and the sister, and to the emotion of awe on the part of his child to which this would lead, and which

would account for the special respect which he paid to her, though it would not explain her other functions. I quite agree that this might well account for special respect; but I point out that in Samoa the boy would observe, not only that his father had to behave himself with propriety in his sister's presence, and may at one time have had to avoid her, but that he also had to obey her, and had even to submit to her children, and that the boy himself and his brothers and sisters had to do so also, all of which would add very materially to this sense of awe. It seems probable that any special acts of respect and submission which a person had to show to his father's sister must be attributed mainly to this, and not merely to the observation of acts of avoidance.

We have seen that Rivers suggests that the relation in Melanesia between a woman and her brother's child might be a secondary consequence of the avoidance between brother and sister. My suggestion, as regards Samoa, is that, though the question of avoidance may have had some influence, the practices which we have been discussing must be attributed mainly to the relative sanctity of the sister and her powers over her brother and the continuance of the latter as between their descendants, all of which I have attributed to matrilineal descent.

It is probable that much of the confusion in the evidence on all these matters is due to the way in which the Samoans seem sometimes to have continued the powers of a sister over her brother, and applied them as between her and his successors, and, as regards relationship terms, to the overlapping of generations. My meaning as to the latter is that in any one generation there may have been a specific named relationship between *A* and *B*, one of them being called, say, the *tamasa*, and that this person, surviving over a second generation, continued often to be called by that name, though there was another person of the second generation to whom alone it would apply as between him and someone else.

Tamasa and ilamutu

I now propose to say something about the two terms *tamasa* and *ilamutu*, the evidence as to the respective meanings of which is, as we have seen, somewhat confusing.

The term *tamasa* is defined by Pratt as meaning the children of a sister. Krämer gives the same definition, but says the term was used especially for her son. Pritchard identifies it

with the *tamaha* of Tonga and the *vasu* of Fiji, and says it meant a nephew on the mother's side—meaning evidently a sister's son. Brown says the term was practically the same as the *vasu* of Fiji, except that in the latter case it seemed to have a wider range, as a man of Fiji might be *vasu* to a whole town or district. I may say, as regards this qualification, that the extension of the functions of a *vasu* of Fiji, as compared with those of a sister's son, in other parts of Melanesia is associated by Rivers [he is only speaking of Melanesia] with a case in which the uncle was a chief, and the privileges of the *vasu* applied to all his relatives and subjects, and he says the difference was probably due to the excessive development in Fiji, as compared with other parts of Melanesia, of the importance and powers of the chief[1].

The references by Pritchard and Brown to the Fijian *vasu* make it desirable that I should say something about this relationship. Thomson explains the meaning of the term to be the relationship of a man to the clan of his mother[2]. Hocart refers to the irresistible right (*vasu*) of a sister's son[3]. Rivers speaks of the rights of a sister's son or *vasu*[4]. Codrington discusses the extraordinary rights of the *vasu*, or sister's son, over his maternal uncle[5]. I may say that the term is well known and is often used by writers on Fiji to indicate the relationship of a man to his mother's brother and the people of the latter. Turning now to the rights which this *vasu* relationship gives to a man, the right of a *vasu* to plunder his mother's relations is also well known and is referred to incidentally by several writers, and is well described in its most extensive form by Thomson[6]. Hocart refers to the sending to sue with an enemy for peace of a man who, as sister's son, was safe among his mother's people, and was sure, by virtue of the irresistible right (*vasu*) to obtain what he asked for[7], a use of the *vasu* relationship which may be compared with what we have been told (by Pritchard) of the power in Samoa of a *tamasa* to procure peace with his mother's relations, and (by Pratt) of the appointment by a *tuimanu'a* of his son by a Fitiuta woman as peacemaker for Fitiuta.

It seems that the reported rights and powers of a Fijian sister's son were essentially the same, though they may have been extended more widely, as those of a sister's son in Samoa.

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, p. 158.
[2] Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 75.
[3] Hocart, *J.A.I.* vol. XLIII, p. 118.
[4] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, p. 156.
[5] Codrington, p. 34.
[6] Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 75.
[7] Hocart, *J.A.I.* vol. XLIII, p. 118.

In Fiji the relationship of this son to her people was called *vasu*; what was the name for that relationship in Samoa? There are statements that it was *tamasa*, and we may almost assume that such an important and far-reaching relationship would be known by a definite term. There is also, bearing in mind the element of sanctity, and the great power in Samoa of a sister, a probability that *tamasa*, meaning "sacred child," was the name that indicated that relationship. I think, therefore, that *tamasa* meant a sister's son, and perhaps included her other children.

A comparison of the statements of the several writers leads me to suggest that the term *ilamutu* was probably founded on the relationship between a brother and sister, but was extended downwards, so as to include the relationship between the descendants of a brother and those of his sister, the term *ilamutu* being perhaps applied specially to the latter. We shall see that in Tonga and the Marquesas the term seems to have been applied to the sister's child of either sex, and in Tikopia to her son.

I have drawn attention to the possible confusion involved in an attempt to associate certain alleged practices solely with any one of the three relationships of brother and sister, father's sister and mother's brother. This possible source of uncertainty will be found in evidence collected in other islands.

CHAPTER XIX

SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP MATTERS AND TERMS (CONTINUED)

TONGA

Relationship terms

THE following are a number of Tongan relationship terms, collected from Baker's and Père A. C.'s dictionaries and from Rivers's material[1].

Ohoana. A spouse, a married person[2]; a wife or husband, a partner[3], a wife[4]. *Unoho*. Husband, wife, spouse (f. or m.), marriage, a pair, a couple (m. and f.)[5]; a husband or wife[6]. An old disused term for either husband or wife[7]. I have found no terms for husband and wife, as distinguished from one another.

Tamai. A father[8]; father, paternal uncle[9]; father and father's brother, and other men of their generation according to the usual rules of the classificatory system. Also the husbands of the mother's sister and of the father's sister. It is also applied by a man to the father of his wife, and by a woman to the father of her husband. The real father might be distinguished from the other relatives to whom the same term is applied by the expression *tamai mooni*[10]. *Ala*, *he'u* and *lei*, all meant father[11].

Fae. Mother[12]; mother, aunt[13]; mother, mother's sister, and the wives of the father's brother and of the mother's brother; also the mother of the husband or wife; the mother's brother is also sometimes so called[14]. *Ala* and *sina* both used for mother[15]. *Fehuku*. Real mother[16].

Matua. Parents, old people[17]; ancestors, seniors, old people, grandfather, also name given to parents (father and mother)[18]. *Tupuanga*. Origin, cause, source, beginning, ancestors, father[19].

Foha. A son[20]; son, nephew of paternal uncle[21]. Applied by a man to his son, and also to the son of his brother, or of others whom he would call brother[22]. *Tama*. A boy, a child[23]; a boy, a young man, a child, a son—with reference to his mother or aunt only[24]; used by a woman for her son and for her sister's son; the sons of her husband's brothers would also be called by this name[25].

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 364 *sqq*.
[2] Père A. C.
[3] Baker.
[4] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169.
[5] Père A. C.
[6] Baker.
[7] Rivers.
[8] Baker.
[9] Père A. C.
[10] Rivers.
[11] Père A. C.
[12] Baker.
[13] Père A. C.
[14] Rivers.
[15] Père A. C.
[16] *Ibid*.
[17] Baker.
[18] Père A. C.
[19] *Ibid*. p. 284.
[20] Baker.
[21] Père A. C.
[22] Rivers.
[23] Baker.
[24] Père A. C.
[25] Rivers.

Ofefine. A daughter[1]; a daughter (with respect to the father only)[2]. *Taahine*. A daughter (you say this for the mother)[3]. *Ofefine*. The term for daughter, used by both men and women, and applied according to the same rules as *foha* and *tama*[4].

Tamasii. A child, boy or girl[5]. *Fanau*. Used generally for a child, either male or female[6]. *Fakafanau*. To treat children of different parents impartially[7]. *Faka* means "to cause," and is also used as a prefix signifying "after the manner of"; so the whole word suggests, the wide general meaning of its application to children.

Alo. A term of respect, stomach, son, daughter, child of a king[8]. A child of rank[9]. *Falealo*. Children of the *tuitonga*[10]; the family or children of the *tuitonga* and *tamaha*[11].

Faletama. Children of the same father but of different mothers, or of the same mother and different fathers[12]. *Fakafaletama*. A term applied to the quarrelling of children by the same father but different mothers[13]. I have introduced this for comparison with the previous word. *Uho*. The umbilical cord, pith[14]; marrow, pith, umbilical cord; applied to those who are brothers or sisters by (*de*) the mother (*koe-taha*, they have only the one same mother; *koe kau-taha*, brothers and sisters by (*de*) the same mother)[15]. *Uhotahabe*. A term applied to children of the same mother[16]. *Fetokingataha*. Sisters or brothers by (*de*) one same mother[17]. *Heutaha*. To be of one father[18]. I draw attention to my translation of the French *de* into "by"; a translation into "of" would offer an alternative which would completely change the meanings of the whole definitions, but I think I am right as to the intention.

Tokoua. A brother, a sister[19]; brother, cousin, second, equal, fellow, companion (when there are only two)[20]. *Tokoua-ihe-fono*. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law[21]. *Tokoua*. Used by a man for his brother, and by a woman for her sister; also applied in the corresponding way by persons of the same sex to the children of the father's brother, of the father's sister, of the mother's brother and of the mother's sister. It is thus used for all cousins, whether they are related through the father or through the mother. The husbands of two sisters, or the wives of two brothers, also call one another *tokoua*[22].

Père A. C. gives the following terms as meaning brother, *fetokingataha*, *fototehina*, *taokete*, *tehina*, *tokoua*, *tuongaane* and *uho*, and the following as meaning sister, *fetokingataha*, *tehina* and *tuofefine*. I point out that he has given a more specific meaning for *fetokingataha*, and gives them (see below) to some others; so it is clear they are not all general terms.

He and Baker give the following terms as having more specific meanings.

[1] Baker. [2] Père A. C. [3] *Ibid.* [4] Rivers.
[5] Père A. C. [6] Rivers. [7] Baker.
[8] Père A. C. [9] Baker. [10] Père A. C.
[11] Baker. [12] Père A. C. [13] Baker.
[14] *Ibid.* [15] Père A. C. [16] Baker.
[17] Père A. C., p. 106. [18] Baker. [19] *Ibid.*
[20] Père A. C. [21] Baker. [22] Rivers.

Tuongaane. A brother (used only by a sister)[1]; brother (with respect to the sister)[2]. *Tuofefine* (or *toufefine*). A sister (used only by a brother)[3]; sister (with respect to the brother)[4]. *Taokete*. An elder brother or sister[5]; eldest (male and female) of boys with respect to boys, and of girls with respect to girls[6]. *Tehina*. A younger brother or sister[7]; brother or sister (younger), cousins (the youngest brother of a sister, the youngest sister of a brother)[8]. *Fototihina*. Younger brothers or cousins (males)[9]; plural, younger brothers—only used for more than two brothers[10]. Smith says that *tehina* meant a younger brother of a brother, and, he believed, a younger sister of a sister[11].

Rivers defines some of these brother and sister terms[12] as follows:

Taukete and *tehina*. Terms for elder and younger brother (M.S.) and for elder and younger sister (W.S.)[13]. In the family in the limited sense these terms are applied according to the relative age of the persons themselves, but for more distant relatives their correct use depends on the respective ages of their parents; thus a man would call the son of his father's younger brother *tehina*, even if the latter were older than himself, and similarly in the case of children of a brother and sister. At the present time the expressions *tokoua lahi* and *tokoua sii* are often used in place of *taukete* and *tehina*, but the latter words are those proper to the old Tongan systems, according to my (Rivers's) informants. *Tungaane*. Used by a woman of her brother. *Tuafafine*. Used by a man of his sister. Both *tungaane* and *tuafafine* are used according to the same rules as *tokoua*; but the terms *tauketi* and *tehina* are never used between men and women.

The following words are defined thus:

Mehekitanga. An aunt[14]; paternal aunt[15]; the father's sister and others whom the father would call sister. Her husband is *tamai*[16].

Tuasina. An uncle[17]; a maternal uncle[18]; mother's brother and others whom the mother would call brother[19].

Fakafotu. Nephew or niece of the paternal aunt, children of brothers with respect to the sisters[20]. The term, reciprocal to *mehekitanga*, applied by a woman to the child, son or daughter, of her brother[21].

Fanounga. The children of a brother living or brought up by his sister[22].

Fahu. Sister's child, the male or female descendant of the sister[23].

Ilamutu. A niece or nephew[24]; nephew, niece, sister's child[25]; applied by a man to the child, whether son or daughter, of his sister; it is also used in the classificatory sense for the children of any woman who would be called sister[26].

Tamaha. This word is identical, interchanging the consonant according to rule, with the Samoan *tamasa*. It is not mentioned by either Père A. C. or Rivers, and the only meaning Baker gives to it is "a spiritual high priestess."

[1] Baker, p. 197. [2] Père A. C. p. 283. [3] Baker. [4] Père A. C.
[5] Baker. [6] Père A. C. [7] Baker.
[8] Père A. C. (the cousin explanation does not seem clear).
[9] Baker. [10] Père A. C. [11] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169.
[12] Three of them are spelt by Rivers differently, but they are evidently the same.
[13] M.S. means "man speaking," and W.S. means "woman speaking" (Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 14).
[14] Baker, p. 158. [15] Père A. C. p. 204. [16] Rivers.
[17] Baker. [18] Père A. C. [19] Rivers.
[20] Père A. C. [21] Rivers. [22] Baker, p. 78.
[23] Père A. C. [24] Baker. [25] Père A. C. [26] Rivers.

I refer to the word here, however, as it will appear in subsequent pages. Fison was told in a letter by the Rev. J. E. Moulton of the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga that the title of *tamaha* was usually borne by one female of the very highest rank, who was chosen from among those of a certain royal lineage. Mr Moulton said he believed that the derivation of the term was *tama* (a child), and *ha* (apparent). He said the son of the *tamaha* was called the *tama-tauhala*—the very tip-top, the end and consummation of all things, towards whom all ranks and titles converged. And if the *tama-tauhala* had a son, he was no mortal; he was the *eiki*—the god himself, the Lord *par excellence*, the Baal of the Baalim[1].

Kui. Grandparents[2]; grandfather, grandmother[3]; the term applies to all grandparents, both male and female, and to other relatives of their generation[4].

Makapuna. Grandchildren[5]; children of grandchildren, descendants[6].

Mokopuna. Grandchildren, nephew's children, grandson, granddaughter, grandnephew, grandniece[7]; grandchild, the child of either son or wife[8]. It seems possible that these may really be the same word.

Matapuli. The wife's brother and sister's husband (M.S.)[9].

Maa. Husband's sister and brother's wife (W.S.)[10].

Brother and sister

I have not found any clear-cut reference to brother and sister avoidance in Tonga. Mariner, it is true, says every chief paid the greatest respect to his eldest sister, which he showed by never entering into the house where she lived[11]. What Mariner observed might be merely brother and sister avoidance; but his confinement of his statement to the eldest sister suggests that perhaps he is also touching the question of the special respect a man had to show to a sister, which I have discussed in connection with matrilineal descent[12].

Reiter narrates a tradition, which had been obtained in the middle of last century from a very old Tongan chief, who said that it had come down to him from his ancestors. It refers to a series of births of boys and girls from a stone, and subsequent marriages and births, to which were attributed the origin of some of their gods; and the point to which I draw attention is that out of six marriages of which the story speaks three were between successive pairs of twin children of the stone, and another was between the two children of one of these pairs of twins. In each of these four cases therefore the belief was that a man had married his own true sister[13]. Another version of

[1] Fison, *J.A.I.* vol. x, p. 348 *note*.
[2] Baker. [3] Père A. C. [4] Rivers. [5] Baker.
[6] Père A. C. [7] *Ibid.* [8] Rivers. [9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.* [11] Mariner, vol. II, p. 135.
[12] There is a statement that in Samoa the right of a nephew to take his uncle's property was confined to the child of his *eldest* sister (Stanley, *Folk-lore*, vol. XIII, p. 76).
[13] Reiter, *Anthrop.* vol. II, pp. 230–7.

this tradition is given by Caillot[1]. The story was of course a myth, and its present interest is derived from the fact that it discloses an idea that in the distant past brothers and sisters had married. This does not authorize us to say that probably they had done so, but we may regard the possibility that any relatively recent practices of avoidance may have been associated in the minds of the people with traditions of this sort.

Mother's brother and father's sister

As regards the relationship between a child and his mother's brother, Pritchard says that the term *tamaha* referred to a sister's children, who could appropriate anything belonging to their maternal uncles and their offspring[2]. Père A. C. says that the *fahu* or sister's son had the right to take all he wished from his maternal uncle, and his descendants could do so from those of the uncle[3]. These statements indicate an extension of the rights of the children so as to be exercisable by their descendants, and against those of the uncle (as in Samoa), and thus take the matter beyond what is involved by the ordinary conception of the relationship. Rivers gives more detailed information. He says that the mother's brother was "the same as a servant to his sister's son. He had to listen to the boy all the time." The son was specially honoured by his maternal uncle, and could take anything he liked from that uncle's place, his pig, his canoe, or anything else; and no objection would be raised. It has even been said that a man would be very glad to see his nephew take any of his goods. A man looked after his sister's son while he was young, and, when the latter went to his uncle's house, he could do as he chose, and was subject to no restrictions on his conduct, such as affected him, as will be seen presently, when he visited his father's sister. A boy had not to be specially obedient to his maternal uncle; if the boy's father told him to do anything, he would do it; but, if told by his uncle, he would do it or not as he pleased. There were no restrictions on conversation between the boy and his maternal uncle; nor was there any prohibition on the use of his name. There Rivers found no evidence that the mother's brother would take any special part in ceremonial connected with his nephew, either in connection with naming, incision or marriage.

[1] Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 239–44. [2] Pritchard, p. 393.
[3] Père A. C. p. 44. This word would be *fasu* in Samoan. Baker says it means "one that is above law." It may be the Fijian *vasu*.

A woman also could take anything from the house of her maternal uncle, and had the same rights and privileges as her brother. If the sister was older than the brother, then her children were even more highly honoured[1].

The special relationship between a person and his or her father's sister is perhaps suggested by the use of certain terms with reference to it. According to Baker *fanounga* is the term applied to the children of a brother living with, or brought up by his sister[2], and *baninga* meant property presented by a nephew or niece to an aunt, including every kind of Tongan treasures[3]. In the latter case I do not doubt that it was the paternal aunt, though this is not stated. It is, however, from Rivers that we have actual information on the matter. He says the relationship between a child and its father's sister may be described as the reverse of the one above explained. Just as the mother's brother had to honour her child, so the child had to honour its father's sister; and she could take anything from the child. A man honoured his father's sister more than any other relative, even more than his father or his father's elder brother; and it was believed in the old time that, if anyone offended his father's sister, he would die. The father's sister usually arranged the marriage of her nephew or could veto one arranged by the parents or by the man himself; the man, even at the present time, would usually take the woman whom his father's sister wished him to marry. There were many restrictions on the intercourse of a man with his father's sister; he might talk to her, and address her by name; but he might not eat in the same place with her, nor eat anything which she had carried. He would not sit on her bed; and if she came into a house in which he was present, he would at once go out. The father's sister also arranged the marriage of her brother's daughter, and might take any of her possessions; Rivers found no evidence that the aunt took any part in ceremonial connected with her nephew; but at a feast held on the occasion of the first menstruation of her niece she took the chief part, and the menstrual blood was given to her on a piece of bark cloth[4].

As regards the restrictions, to which Rivers refers, placed upon the intercourse between a man and his father's sister, the avoidance by the man of the woman is of the character which we associate with the relationship of a man to his

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 366 *sq.*
[2] Baker, p. 78.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 23.
[4] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 367 *sq.*

own sister, which is generally supposed to be based on the idea that, being of the same group, they must not marry or have sexual intercourse with each other. It is difficult to see, on the basis of Rivers's hypothesis as to the father's sister being a potential wife, how the need for avoidance could arise between her nephew and her. I may say, however, that Rivers refers to Melanesian customs of avoidance between persons—he is speaking of relatives by marriage—of the same sex, which point to the practice of avoidance as having had some other origin than that of mere sexual taboo; and he suggests a connection between avoidances and a condition of hostility between members of two moieties[1]. This is a matter which I cannot discuss, as affecting Polynesia; but I may point out that Rivers's potential wife hypothesis is founded on the fact that, with matrilineal descent, the father's sister would belong to a group other than that of the nephew, so it is, I suppose, possible that the nephew's attitude towards the aunt had originated in group avoidance, and not sexual taboo. It would, however, even then, seem curious that a man had to avoid his potential wife. Then again, if we are to associate with her position as his potential wife her right to arrange or veto a proposed marriage by him, how are we to explain her right to take the property and arrange the marriage of his sister? It seems to me that, even if we recognize her eligibility as a wife of her nephew as an origin of her right to control his marriage, we must also recognize that this right of control may have had another origin similar to that of her right to control the marriage of his sister; and the only explanation of the latter which I can suggest is the general controlling power, found in Samoa, of a woman and her descendants over her brother and his descendants which I have associated with her superior position under a system of matrilineal descent. Then again, one of the acts of avoidance to which Rivers refers is that the nephew might not eat anything the aunt had carried. This seems to go somewhat beyond the requirements of sexual avoidance; but if we may attribute it to a recognition of her superior sanctity, and the infective taboo that arose from it—a subject with which I shall deal in a later chapter—then again we should have another illustration of the conditions which, I have suggested, were based on matrilineal descent.

I draw attention to Rivers's statement that it was believed that if anyone offended his father's sister he would die. We

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, p. 333.

have seen that in Samoa if a man was hindered from taking the property of his mother's brother his mother would secure compliance by means of her curse; and that requirements by sisters of mats had to be met for fear of the sister's curse; and I have associated the fear of a sister's curse with her superior position, as compared with her brother, under a system of matrilineal descent. We may, I think, believe that the Tongan's fear of death if he offended his father's sister was founded on his fear of her curse; and if so, it would perhaps be based on the brother and sister relationship between his father and her, and not on any separate and peculiar relationship between a man and his father's sister.

I now propose to refer to a number of statements which have a bearing on this question of relationship.

The wife, that is the chief or royal wife of the *tuitonga*, or sacred king, whose son by him would presumably succeed to the royal title, had to be the daughter of a person who is not always described in exactly the same terms. According to d'Urville she had to be a member of the family of Tubu, which family supplied candidates for the offices of *tuihaatakalawa* and *tuikanokubolu*[1]. Thomson says the mother of the heir of *tuitonga* had to be the daughter of the *tuikanokubolu*[2]; so also does Home[3]; and Sarah Farmer says this was the lady whom the *tuitonga* had to marry[4]. There are historical examples of marriages by the *tuitonga* with the daughter of the reigning civil king[5]. In Mariner's time the *tuitonga* married the daughter of Finau[6]. I have already discussed the question of the secular kingship of Tonga, including the confusion between the titles of *tuihaatakalaua* and *tuikanokubolu*, and I think the rule must have been that the *tuitonga* married the daughter of the civil king or *hau*, who might be a member of either of these families. This is perhaps illustrated by the marriage with the daughter of Finau, who, though not the duly elected *hau* of Tongatabu, was the *de facto* ruler of certain islands of the group, and was the ruler with whom the *tuitonga* was then associated.

This matrimonial rule has no bearing on the general question now under consideration; but it is the starting-point for subsequent statements, and so has to be mentioned, and I may perhaps diverge for a moment to the question of the reason

[1] D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. II, p. 48.
[2] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 292.
[3] Home, p. 582.
[4] S. Farmer, p. 145.
[5] Cook, vol. V, p. 320. Wilson, p. 247 (I have no doubt I could find others).
[6] Mariner, vol. I, p. 121. D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 92.

for the rule. Why had the *tuitonga* to marry this lady? It will be remembered that, according to traditions, the *tuitonga* were the original reigning kings of the Tongan islands; that the *Haatakalaua* family was apparently an offshoot of that of the *tuitonga*, and the *Kanokubolu* family a subsequent offshoot of the *Haatakalaua*. In subsequent days the family of the *tuitonga* remained distinct as the suppliers of the sacred kings of Tonga; but the secular kings or *hau* were provided, according to my construction, by one or other of the other two great families, and they appear to have become much mixed up and confused. They seem to me to have been in a way one great two-branched family, as distinguished from that of the *tuitonga*. Under these circumstances the question occurred to me whether it was conceivably possible that we had here a relic of an old system of group exogamy, but I could not follow up the possibility because there is no evidence of any obligation for ruling members of these other two families to marry into that of the *tuitonga*, and I was met by the fact that the *tuitonga* had other wives. Perhaps a probable explanation of the custom is that it was one of political expediency, for the purpose of retaining power in the families of the sacred kings, or of the secular kings, or of both; and I may point out as to this that, as the son of the *tuitonga* by his royal wife was presumably the next *tuitonga*, the latter would be sister's son, with all the privileges of the relationship, to the son and probable successor to the office of *tuikanokubolu*. I am unable, however, for want of facts, to pursue the matter any further. I now return to the present subject of discussion.

The son of the *tuitonga* by this marriage with the daughter of the *tuikanokubolu* would be the heir, the future *tuitonga*[1]; but this official rank was regarded as coming to the latter in succession from his father. His daughter by her would be the *tuitonga fefine*[2]. I assume these would be the eldest son and daughter[3]; but the *tuitonga's* royal wife was always taken away from him when she had borne him two children[4], suggested reasons for this being the inconvenience of multiplying per-

[1] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 292.
[2] S. Farmer, p. 145, and Thomson, *D.P.M.* pp. 96, 292.
[3] See d'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 96.
[4] This can hardly have been an absolute rule, as stated, if it was part of the needs of the case that she should have a son and daughter. I doubt also whether the wife would be "taken from him" by others; but I cannot discuss this here.

sonages of such transcendent rank[1], or because she was too great a lady to be subjected to the cares of a large family[2]. This *tuitonga fefine* was the first woman on the island[3]; a person of very great dignity, and treated as a kind of divinity[4]; her feet were kissed [which means that the ceremony of *moe-moe* was performed] by all who approached her[5]; she attained a rank even higher than that of her father or brother; and even her father had to bow to her [perform *moe-moe* ceremony] for absolution of the taboo[6]. It is said that such were her ideas of her own dignity, that she admitted no fixed husband as a companion, but cohabited with such chiefs as she chose to elect[7]; though she might not form connections with men of too low a class[8]; and it is suggested that her rank was too high to allow of her uniting herself in marriage with any mortal man[9]. She could have as many children by her various lovers as she liked[10]; and to them she transmitted her high rank[11].

The son of the *tuitonga fefine* would, through her, be a great chief, even if his father were only one of second rank[12]. But her daughter attained to a rank even higher than her own[13] and was nearer to the gods[14]. This daughter, if she had one, was called the *tamaha*[15]. She was of such high rank that everybody, including the *tuitonga*, her own brothers and sisters, and her mother, the *tuitonga fefine*, had to pay respect and honour to her, bring her offerings, sit down when in her presence and perform to her the ceremony of *moe-moe*[16]; and sick people came to her for cures[17].

I will now consider the two terms *tuitonga fefine* and *tamaha*. There is reasonable ground for thinking that the Tongan word *tamaha* would have a meaning similar to that of its Samoan equivalent *tamasa* (they are identical linguistically, subject to the consonantal differentiation in the two groups), as Pritchard says it had[18]; and in that case the *tamaha* would be (according to my view) the *tuitonga's* sister's child, and her

[1] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 292.
[2] S. Farmer, p. 145.
[3] Wilson, pp. 266, 253.
[4] S. Farmer, p. 145.
[5] Wilson, p. 266.
[6] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 292.
[7] Wilson, p. 266. D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, pp. 274 *sq.*
[8] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 275.
[9] S. Farmer, p. 145. And see Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 292.
[10] Wilson, p. 266. S. Farmer, p. 145. Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 96.
[11] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 96.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.* p. 292.
[14] S. Farmer, p. 145.
[15] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 292. S. Farmer, p. 145.
[16] Thomson, *D.P.M.* pp. 292 *sq.* S. Farmer, p. 145. Wilkes, vol. III, p. 27.
[17] S. Farmer, p. 145.
[18] Pritchard, p. 393.

mother, the *tuitonga fefine*, would be his sister. There are, however, two points to which I must draw attention. One is that all the evidence as to the use of these terms is connected with the *tuitonga* family, except Baker's definition of *tamaha* as meaning a spiritual high priestess and Moulton's reference to a royal lady of highest rank. The other is that, whereas the *tamasa* of Samoa seems to have been always or generally applied to a male, the term *tamaha* in Tonga appears, so far as the evidence goes, to have been applied only, or mainly, to a female.

According to the slight evidence, the *tuitonga fefine* was the daughter of a *tuitonga* by his royal wife, and the *tamaha* was her daughter, the *tuitonga's* granddaughter; but it will be noticed that the *tuitonga fefine* would also be the sister of the *tuitonga's* son by the same wife and presumed successor, and the *tamaha* would be his sister's daughter, and I am inclined to suspect that the statements that have been made, even if correct, have not all been expressed in quite the right way. I propose, therefore, to assume that *tuitonga fefine* was the term applied to the daughter of a *tuitonga*, or to the sister of his son, the next *tuitonga*, or both; but that the term *tamaha* meant primarily the daughter of a *tuitonga's* sister, and comment on the evidence from this point of view.

The word *fefine* (or *fafine*), taken by itself, could not be a relationship term, because it simply meant "a woman"[1]. The *tuitonga fefine* would therefore mean literally the female *tuitonga*, and so might perhaps be applied either to the daughter or the sister of the reigning *tuitonga*, or to both. I point out that in Samoa the *taupou* or chief's daughter, as we have seen, acquired her official importance and ceremonial rights and privileges and was given the *sa'oaualuma* name of the family in her father's lifetime, though her brother, the chief's son and possible successor, only obtained his official importance when, on his father's death, he succeeded to the family title; and I have associated this differentiation between them with the daughter's relative importance under a system of matrilineal descent. It is possible, therefore, that the royal daughter of a *tuitonga* might in the same way be called the *tuitonga fefine* in her father's lifetime, and this may account for the way in which the evidence is stated; there is, perhaps, an inherent likelihood of this, seeing that in Tonga matrilineal descent was in historical times more widely recognized than in Samoa. The im-

[1] See Baker and Père A. C.

portance of this lady, as indicated by the evidence, and her superior rank over that of both her father and brother, is all in accord with what we have seen in Samoa, because the family sanctity would pass downwards by descent, not through her father and brother, but through her father's sister and herself.

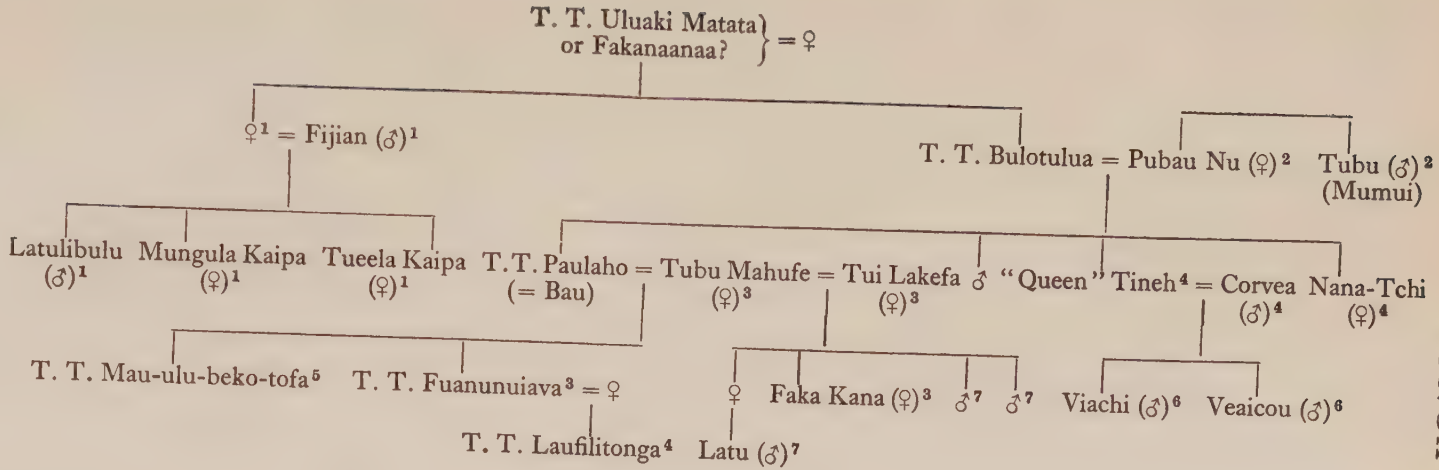
The designation of *tamaha* was given to the lady who was the granddaughter of one *tuitonga* and the niece (sister's daughter) of the next, and it may well have referred to the latter relationship; and the fact that the *tamasa* of Samoa seems to have been primarily a male, whilst in Tonga the term *tamaha* appears to have been applied, specially at all events, to a female, may also have been due to the greater degree in which matrilineal descent still prevailed in Tonga. If the term *tamasa* in Samoa might include both males and females, perhaps the Tongan term *tamaha* might do so also, though it has only been mentioned by writers in connection with the all-important woman. As to the derivation of the term *tamaha*, there seems to be little doubt that *tamasa* meant "sacred child," the word *sa* meaning "sacred" in Samoa, and being found in the term *mea sa*, or "sacred gift," applied to the mat given by a chief to his sister's son. It is true that the same word, *ha*, in Tonga means "to appear in sight" and "appearance," and I find no reference in either Baker's or Père A. C.'s dictionary to its use with the meaning "sacred." Probably this is the reason of Mr Moulton's suggested derivation; but I confess that it does not appeal to me, as it does not seem to give any meaning to the term. It seems more likely that *ha* had the meaning of "sacred" in Tonga, or possibly *tamasa* had been a Samoan word, with a Samoan meaning, which had, with its meaning, been adopted in Tonga (the *tama* is common to both), the *s* being changed into *h* according to the rule for interchange of consonants. Baker's definition of "a spiritual high priestess," and Moulton's reference to "a female of the very highest rank, who was chosen from among those of a certain royal lineage," may well point to the same thing; and this would be consistent with the special use of the term *tamaha* as representing this lady of the family of the *tuitonga*, and with the statements that people brought offerings to her and came to her to be cured. Though it is impossible to interpret the matter with any confidence, it seems to me that in Tonga the term *tamaha* may have been used with a meaning somewhat similar to that of *tamasa* in Samoa (including perhaps males and females), but

that the Tongan term may have acquired a special and important meaning as applied to the great lady of the family of the *tuitonga*, or sacred kings, and a belief in her special sanctity might well be derived from ideas such as I have suggested in discussing the question of matrilineal descent.

I now propose to refer to the records of several travellers, beginning with Cook, for the purpose of searching (I may say in advance, without great success) for illustrations of the attitudes towards one another of certain relations, and (though this is not so important) the meanings of the terms *tuitonga fefine* and *tamaha*. I do not attach so much importance to the former term, which may have been only a general one, as to the latter, the question of the *tamaha* being specially interesting. I again point out that these records only relate to the *tuitonga* family, a circumstance which is in accordance with the suggestion that the term, whether general or not, seems in Tonga to have been recognized specially as regards what Moulton in his letter calls one female of the very highest rank, who was chosen from among those of a certain royal lineage. I must draw attention again to a possible, and indeed I think probable, source of confusion in the evidence, to which I have referred already in connection with Samoa. Let us suppose that the term *tuitonga fefine* was applied to the daughter of a *tuitonga*. On the death of that *tuitonga* another *tuitonga*—say his son—might succeed, and he would marry and have a daughter, who would also be a *tuitonga fefine*; so, if the previous *tuitonga fefine* were still living, and retained what I may call a dowager title[1], there would be two ladies, each enjoying or claiming the title, unless, indeed, the second did not get it till the first had died. So also confusion of a similar character would arise as regarded the term *tamaha*; and in both cases it would be increased if the term, though primarily one of relationship only, had, as regarded this sacred family, developed into something more—what we might perhaps call a semi-official designation. To enable readers to follow the history and my comments, I have prepared a genealogical table, which, though it may have inaccuracies, has been twice checked over again with the sources from which it has been prepared, and is, I think, probably correct in essentials.

The letters T.T. in front of a name indicate that it is one of the *tuitonga*.

[1] It was, of course, not a "title" in the strict sense.



[1] Cook, vol. v, p. 431.
[2] D'Entrecasteaux, vol. I, p. 303; Labillardière, vol. II, pp. 169–70.
[3] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, pp. 102, 106, 113; G. Cook, vol. v, p. 320; and Wilson, p. 248.
[4] D'Entrecasteaux, vol. I, p. 304; Labillardière, vol. II, pp. 126, 169–70; d'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, pp. 102, 103, 113.
[5] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 321.
[6] D'Entrecasteaux, vol. I, p. 304; Labillardière, vol. II, p. 170; d'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, pp. 92, 102; cf. Wilson, p. 253.
[7] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 105.

When Captain Cook visited Tonga in 1777, the reigning *tuitonga* was Paulaho. Cook refers us to four people, whom he calls collectively the *tamaha*; one was Paulaho's aunt, and the other three were her son Latulibulu and her two daughters, Mungula-Kaipa and Tueela-Kaipa[1]. Thomson says that one of these daughters was the *tamaha*[2], but I cannot say on what ground he bases the statement. Cook says that the aunt and her three children were of higher rank than Paulaho. He did not see the aunt or her daughter Tueela-Kaipa, as in fact they were living in another island; so we have no evidence from him as to the visible attitude of respect shown by Paulaho towards them. But he did see the daughter Mungula-Kaipa and the son Latulibulu. He says that Paulaho would not eat in the presence of Mungula-Kaipa, and performed the ceremony of *moe-moe* before her; and his attitude towards Latulibulu showed that, though regarded by the king as a superior, he was not considered equal in rank to Mungula-Kaipa; for the king did not perform *moe-moe* with this man, though he left off eating on the man's appearance in the house[3]. Latulibulu was evidently a person of very great importance, even though inferior to his sister; this is further evidenced by his attitude towards the people and their highly deferential treatment of him[4]. Nevertheless at the *inaji* ceremony (the annual giving of food to *tuitonga* as representing the gods) he assisted only in the same manner as the other principal men[5].

The first matter disclosed by this evidence, to which I draw attention, is the superiority over the *tuitonga* Paulaho of a daughter and son of his father's sister, and apparently that sister herself and her other daughter, for though Cook did not see them, he heard of them, and it can hardly be doubted, if we look at the matter in the light of what we know of Samoa, that they would share this superiority. It is probable, I think, that this is an example of the general superiority of the children of a sister over those of a brother, and, apparently, of the sister's daughter over that sister's son. Cook says the aunt and her three children were called collectively *tamaha*; Thomson says it was only one of her daughters that was so called, but he, I imagine, is only expressing his own view of the *tamaha* relationship—he obviously cannot say who it was that in 1777

[1] Cook, vol. v, p. 431. [2] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 313.

[3] Cook, vol. v, p. 431.

[4] See Cook, vol. III, pp. 189 *sqq.*; vol. v, pp. 295, 431. Forster, *Voy.* vol. I, pp. 466 *sq.* [5] Cook, vol. v, p. 431.

was in fact called the *tamaha*. According to my view of the probable meaning (sister's daughter) of the term, one of the two daughters—probably Mungula-Kaipa, who seems to have been the elder—would be *tamaha* to *tuitonga* Paulaho's father, *tuitonga* Bulotulua. There would, if the term *tamaha* was applied only to a woman, be no person who could be so to *tuitonga* Paulaho, if his sister Nana Tchi had not a daughter, as apparently his sister, "Queen" Tineh, only had sons. Cook's inclusion of the paternal aunt and all her children in the term *tamaha* may point to a confusion such as seems to have prevailed between the *ilamutu* and *tamasa* of Samoa; if the term *ilamutu* might have in Tonga an extended meaning, such as I have attributed to it in Samoa, it would have been the correct one to apply to these four persons as between themselves and both *tuitonga* Paulaho himself and his father.

When the French under d'Entrecasteaux arrived in 1793, the *tuitonga* was, apparently, Mau-ulu-beko-tofa, and it was they who called his aunt "Queen" Tineh. She apparently had no daughter, the only children of hers of whom I find any mention being her sons Viachi and Veaicou[1]. D'Entrecasteaux does not introduce any Tongan relationship terms; nor does Labillardière, of about the same time, but they both tell us something of Tineh. Labillardière says that the people took her right foot and placed it on their heads; others came and touched with their right hands the sole of her right foot[2]. She was very tenacious of honours, which even the chiefs did not dare to refuse her. She said that even king Tubu [he was the *tuikanokubolu*] was compelled to pay her these marks of respect, because it was from her that he held his dignity; and it is recorded that the king's brother and Finau [an important chief] retired hastily in their canoes, when they knew she was on board [*i.e.* on the French ship], to avoid having to do the *moe-moe*[3]. This is mentioned also by d'Entrecasteaux, who says that Tineh was the real sovereign of the island, and all paid her homage[4].

When the missionaries of the *Duff* arrived in 1797 the *dramatis personae* appear to have been the same, and Tineh was the *tuitonga fefine*[5]. We are told that she was the first woman in the land, and that her feet were kissed by all who approached her[6], and that her son Viachi had the largest district

[1] Labillardière, vol. II, p. 170. D'Entrecasteaux, vol. I, p. 304. Wilson, p. 253.
[2] Labillardière, vol. II, p. 126.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 128 *sq.*
[4] D'Entrecasteaux, vol. I, p. 290.
[5] Wilson, p. 253.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 266.

of any chief in Tonga[1]. We are also told of the very prominent part which she took at the funeral of the *tuikanokubolu* Mumui [Tubu], at which she was borne by four men on a frame of bamboo with matting between them, the *tuitonga* walking near her; and that, at a later stage, when they came to the distribution of the food, the names of those who drank the kava were formally announced by a person appointed for the purpose by her; and that at this stage she seemed to have the management of the funeral[2]. But nothing is said of any *tamaha*.

If the general superiority of a sister and her children over her brother and his children, which seems to have been recognized in Samoa, prevailed also in Tonga, the very exalted position which Tineh held is hardly to be wondered at, for she was father's sister to the reigning *tuitonga* Mau-ulu-bekotofa, and sister's daughter to the *tuikanokubolu* Tubu; she might well indeed be regarded as the sovereign of the island. Tubu would acquire increased dignity from her, seeing that, with matrilineal descent, she was his blood relation and that she was the daughter of one *tuitonga*, the sister of the next, and the aunt of the then reigning *tuitonga*. Her designation as *tuitonga fefine* would, I suppose, be based on the fact that she was the daughter of a *tuitonga* and the sister of his successor. I draw attention to the fact that she took the leading part at the funeral of her mother's brother, the *tuikanokubolu* Tubu, and that with matrilineal descent she and he would belong to the same group. We may compare this fact with the Samoan evidence, according to which the special functions at a man's funeral were performed by a man's sister (Krämer and Stair), or in the absence of a sister by some other near relative (Stair), or were performed by the sister or sister's child (Brown). We cannot associate this Tongan example with an extension to different kinship groups of the special ceremonial duties between each other of members of different moieties, to which Rivers refers.

The next source of information is Mariner, whose enforced stay in the Tongan islands lasted from 1806 to 1810. The reigning *tuitonga* was then Fuanunuiava. Now it seems, at first glance, a remarkable fact that Mariner, after four years' residence, says nothing whatever about any *tuitonga fefine* or *tamaha*, if these people were as important as they are said to have been; but I think there is a natural explanation. Mariner

[1] Wilson, p. 249.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 236 *sq.*

was specially associated with Finau, who was not the *tuikanokubolu* but had secured the secular government of the Haapai and Vavau Islands—the elected *tuikanokubolu* was actually living in Tongatabu—and it is evident that Finau told Mariner precious little about anybody superior in position to himself. Mariner knew that the *tuitonga* was a god-descended chief, very sacred, and therefore superior in rank to Finau who had to show him marks of respect; but there is not a word in Mariner's book to suggest that he knew who and what the *tuitonga* really was, and especially that he was the sacred king of the Tongan islands. His ignorance on these matters is further illustrated by what he tells us of Viachi, of whom he only seems to have known that he also was a chief of divine origin, second only to the *tuitonga*[1], and indeed appears to have regarded him as being of quite another family, which indeed he was in a sense. It is possible that the *tuitonga fefine* and the *tamaha* were living in Tongatabu, or perhaps Mariner was kept by Finau in ignorance, so far as possible, of the royal importance of the *tuitonga* dynasty, and that this may account for the absence of any knowledge by him of the *tuitonga fefine* or the *tamaha*. In point of fact we know that Finau never associated himself with chiefs superior to himself, and endeavoured to avoid meeting them, because he did not wish to have to degrade himself by humbly sitting down in their presence as a mark of respect; and that for the same reason they politely avoided meeting him[2]. It is therefore quite possible that Mariner never saw Finau debase himself before a *tuitonga fefine* or a *tamaha*, and so knew nothing about them.

The fact that Mariner was not aware of the relationship of Viachi to the *tuitonga* emphasizes, rather than the reverse, his recognition of Viachi's importance, being, like the *tuitonga*, of divine descent, and second only to him. A glance at my genealogical tree will, however, show that, not only would Viachi acquire an inherited importance and sanctity from his mother, but that, as between him and the *tuitonga* Fuanunuiava, he was father's sister's son to the latter, and so would enjoy the superiority over him which this relationship involved.

Mariner, in describing the funeral of Finau, says that the provisions provided for the funeral feast were placed on the ground or "laid down before the temporary house, to which

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 86 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 84 *sq.*

the chief of the tabooed women[1] retired to be fed; and she ordered them to be distributed to the different chiefs and matabule, who again shared them out in the usual way"[2]. Mariner also, in describing the funeral of the *tuitonga*, refers in places to one of the female mourners, who seems to have taken an important and solitary part in the ceremonies[3]. As, however, he does not tell us who these women were, we can draw no deduction from his statements, except that an important place was taken by a woman.

We now come to the year 1827, when d'Urville visited the islands in the *Astrolabe*. The *tuitonga* Fuanunuiava was then dead, and his son Laufilitonga had assumed the title of *tuitonga*, and was honoured as such in Vavau, where he lived. D'Urville was told, however, by Latu [see genealogical tree] that as this man had not been consecrated at Mua [in Tongatabu], as the custom of the country required, his divine character as *tuitonga* was contested, that many important chiefs were opposed to his return [to Tongatabu], and that he had lost much in public opinion because his father had sided with Finau in fighting against Tongatabu[4]. There is no mention of Tineh, who appears to have been dead. The *tuitonga fefine* was Nana-Tchi, who had succeeded Tineh[5], and the *tamaha* was Faka Kana[6]. D'Urville tells us that the *tuitonga fefine* (Nana-Tchi) had rank something like that of a queen[7]. He also says that the *tuitonga fefine*—he is evidently here speaking generally, and not of any particular *tuitonga fefine*—presided at the funeral of a *tuitonga*, and speaks of a special block of stone in the *fiatoka* [burial place] of the *tuitonga* upon which she sat when doing so[8]. Of the *tamaha* d'Urville tells us that all the people of Tonga, including the *tuitonga* and the *tuikanokubolu*, did *moe-moe* to her; but that she did not do this to anyone[9]. Speaking of Viachi, he says that his person was sacred like that of *tuitonga*, and that even the latter performed *moe-moe* to him[10]. Viachi's son Vea, though impoverished by the wars, received the marks of respect due to his birth; and the present *tuitonga* [Laufilitonga, then living in Vavau] would have observed these in

[1] That is the women who had become taboo by having touched the dead body.
[2] Mariner, vol. I, p. 320.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 182, 184.
[4] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 92. He was the person spoken of by Mariner as the *tuitonga* during the second part of the stay of the latter (Mariner, vol. II, p. 83).
[5] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 103.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 102.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 113.
[8] *Ibid.* pp. 106 *sq.*
[9] *Ibid.* p. 96.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 92.

Vea's presence[1]. He also speaks of Latu, who, it will be seen from the tree, was the son of Faka Kana's elder sister [I do not know whether the latter was alive or dead], and tells us that he saw Faka Kana and two of her younger brothers, accompanied by Latu, and noticed that these brothers did *moe-moe* to Latu at the *kava* ceremony[2].

The situation at this period is complicated by the fact that Laufilitonga had not been consecrated properly, and his right to be regarded as the *tuitonga* was disputed. This fact would not affect the actual relationship between him and another person, nor the term by which that relationship was expressed. But if, as I have suggested, not only the designation of *tuitonga fefine*, which was, on the face of it, associated with the holder of the title, but also that of *tamaha*, which was probably a relationship term also, had a special reference to relationship with the divine *tuitonga*, as such, then it may be that we should eliminate Laufilitonga partly in considering the matter, and have regard to the relationship of the *tuitonga fefine* and the *tamaha* with the *tuitonga* Mau-ulu-beko-tofa and Fuanunuiava in considering the question of the ladies who are said to have held these offices.

We have seen that in Mau-ulu-beko-tofa's time Tineh was the *tuitonga fefine*; but we do not know who was then the *tamaha*. Looking at the matter, then, in the way which I am suggesting, it seems natural enough that on the death of Tineh, the office of *tuitonga fefine* should pass to her sister Nana-Tchi, whereas it might have been difficult to explain this if Laufilitonga had been the duly-constituted *tuitonga*. I cannot understand the position as *tamaha* of Faka Kana, as she was not the daughter of Tineh, and she was daughter of Paulaho, sister of Mau-ulu-beko-tofa and Fuanunuiava, and father's sister of Laufilitonga. The importance of Nana-Tchi, based on relationship to three successive *tuitonga*, would be the same as that of her sister Tineh. The relationship between Laufilitonga and Viachi was based on the brother and sister relationship between Paulaho and Tineh; and the duty of Laufilitonga to show his recognition of inferiority by performing the *moe-moe* ceremony to both Viachi and, apparently, his son Vea, may, I think, be taken as an illustration of the way in which the superiority of a sister to her brother continued as between their respective descendants. Then again, we see the superiority over a man of his sister's

[1] *Ibid.* p. 93.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 105.

child in the fact that Faka Kana's brothers had to do the *moe-moe* to Latu, the son of her deceased elder sister. The *tuitonga* at whose funeral the *tuitonga fefine* presided would, as I understand the matter, probably be either her father, or her brother. In the latter case they would belong to the same social group; in the former, with matrilineal descent, they would not, but I do not think that we can associate a duty of a Tongan woman to her father with an origin connected with opposite moieties.

Wilkes, whose period was 1838–42, speaks of the *tamaha*, who, he says, was the aunt of *tuitonga*, and tells us that she was considered as of divine origin, and that therefore great respect and honours were paid to her[1]. And Lawry, a Wesleyan missionary who was in Tonga in 1847, who saw the *tamaha*, says that she ranked first among all the chiefs of Tonga; and in an appendix it is stated that Josiah Tubu, the *tuikanokubolu* did homage to her and gave her precedence at the kava ring[2].

I have expressed my inability to understand how it was that during the reign of Laufilitonga his father's sister Faka Kana was *tamaha*. Here again we have an aunt as *tamaha*, though we do not know whether she was sister of the father or of the mother. It is possible that there was in Tonga some feature in this relationship which I have not been able to trace.

SOCIETY ISLANDS

Relationship terms

Almost the whole of the information I have found as to relationship terms in the Society Islands has been obtained from Davies's dictionary, and all the particulars given below, and for which references are not given, are derived from that source.

Tara vahine. A husband[3].

Tara tane. A wife[4].

Metua. A parent without determining the sex. *Metuahoovai*. A parent-in-law. *Metuatavai*. A parent that adopts a child. *Titae*. A parent; a term of endearment used by a child for his father or mother.

[1] Wilkes, vol. III, p. 27. [2] Lawry, *F.F.I.* (1), pp. 29, 246.

[3] MS. in Davies's *Grammar* (part on gender).

[4] *Ibid.* In Tahiti *tane* means a man, *vahine* a woman, from which it might appear that the two meanings given here should be reversed. In New Zealand, however, *tara* is used for the *membrum virili* of a man and the *clitoris* of a woman. (See Tregear's dictionary.) So perhaps the terms here given mean the copulating spouse of a woman and a man respectively.

Metua (spelt *medua* or *medooa*). A father, as distinguished from a mother?[1]; also used for a godfather?[2]; a person's relations in the ascending line?[3].

Metua tane. A father. *Pa*. A term of reverence answering to "father," used by children in speaking to him, and by common people to their chief.

Paino and *paiti*. Terms of endearment used by children in addressing their father.

Metua vahine. A mother. *Patea*. A term of respect addressed to a mother or woman of rank. *Pateaino*. A term of respect addressed by children to their mother.

Tama. A child, male or female.

Maroa. A male child, in opposition to *mahine*, a female child. *Tamaroa*. A boy, a male. *Tamaiti*. A son, a little *tama*.

Mahine. A daughter. *Tamahine*. A daughter or female *tama*. *Potii* (*potiki*). A girl.

Taeae (*taeake*). A brother, cousin, any near relation.

Taeae. Brother in a general way without designating age[4].

Tuaane. A brother in relation to a sister.

Tuane. A brother of a sister[5].

Tuahine. A sister.

Tuahine. A sister of a brother[6].

Tuaana (*tuakana*). An elder brother; also a senior relation.

Tuaana (*tuakana*). Elder brother of the brother, or elder sister of the sister[7].

Teina. A younger brother of the brother, or younger sister of the sister[8].

There is some manuscript matter (apparently in the handwriting of Orsmond, the Borabora missionary, quoted by Ellis and others) in the British Museum copy of Davies's *Tahitian Grammar*. In this MS. the word *tuana*, or *tuane*, is given as meaning an elder brother to a younger brother; an elder brother to a younger sister; an elder sister to a younger brother; and a cousin of the father to the elder brother. *Teina* is given the meanings of a younger brother to his elder brother; and a cousin of the father to the younger brother. In addition to these we are given *tauete ohine*, a sister-in-law to the elder (*sic*). *Teina vahine*, a sister-in-law to a younger sister. *Tuane vahine*, a sister-in-law to a sister-in-law. The writer also says that if one man took, either by force or by consent, another man's wife, she became the wife of the capturer; that they would live on terms of peace together, the former husband being called *tuana tane*, and the capturer *teina tane*. I suspect that this manuscript matter is incomplete and not quite accurate.

Tupuna or *tiapuna*. An ancestor or grandfather.

Mootua. A grandchild; a great-grandchild. *Mootuatini*, or *mootuatuarau*.

[1] Forster, *Voy*. vol. II, p. 91. [2] Wilson, p. 341. [3] Forster, *Voy*. vol. I, p. 357.
[4] Gaussin, p. 68. [5] Davies, *Grammar*, p. 11. Gaussin, p. 68.
[6] Davies, *Grammar*, p. 11. [7] Gaussin, p. 68. [8] *Ibid*.

A great-great-grandchild. *Mootuatinitini*. A very distant progeny, indefinitely known.

Metuahoovai or *purua*. A parent-in-law.

Medua hovai. A parent-in-law. *Medua hovai tane*. A father-in-law. *Medua hovai vahine*. A mother-in-law[1].

Apurua. A term applied to relations by marriage; a parent of the party married becomes the *apurua* to the parent of the other party that is married.

Hunoa. A son or daughter-in-law.

Hunoa. A child-in-law. *Hunoa tane*. A son-in-law. *Hunoa vahine*. A daughter-in-law[2].

Tauete. Brother-in-law of a man, or sister-in-law of a woman[3]. *Tauete tane* and *tauete vahine*. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law respectively[4].

Brother and sister

The *Duff* missionaries say that in Tahiti the *taio* (friend) of a husband, who I may explain, had considerable freedom with his wife, might indulge in no liberties with his sister or daughter, because they were regarded as the *taio's* sister and daughter, and incest was held in abhorrence by the people[5]. On the other hand, Moerenhout who, though apparently speaking of Polynesia generally, presumably refers at all events to Tahiti, says that marriages between brothers and sisters, though repugnant to the people, and not common, sometimes took place to prevent *mésalliance* and preserve rank, when political interest made them absolutely necessary[6]. These statements bring Tahiti pretty much into line with Hawai'i, where, according to Rivers, the practice did not prevail among the ordinary people, but was customary among the chiefs, the reason for the latter being, he is convinced, the maintenance of the royal blood[7].

HERVEY ISLANDS

Relationship terms

I have found hardly any information as to relationship terms used in the Hervey Islands, and can only refer to a few which appear incidentally. There was only one word for father and uncle[8]. The following terms all come from Rarotonga. *Tama*, a son[9]. *Tungane*, a real brother, and *tuaine*, a real sister. *Tuakana*, elder or eldest, and *teina*, younger or youngest[10]. It is not said

[1] Davies, *Grammar*, p. 11.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Gaussin, p. 68.
[4] MS. in Davies's *Grammar* (gender).
[5] Wilson, p. 346.
[6] Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 67.
[7] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 380 *sqq.* Cf. Ellis, vol. IV, pp. 435 *sq.*
[8] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 15.
[9] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169
[10] Hutchin, *J.P.S.* vol. XIII, p. 176.

of these last two terms whether they are applied to any specific forms of relationship. *Taokete*, a man's brother-in-law, or a woman's sister-in-law[1]. Gill supplies in tabular form the terms used in each of the islands for parent, child, grandchild, great-grandchild, great-great-grandchild, and great-great-great-grandchild[2].

Relationship customs

According to Gill, who is speaking as to near relations generally, and not merely brother and sister, there were no restrictions as to conversation, but the rule was to "kiss" [*i.e.* rub noses] only near relatives of either side[3]. This seems to be, in principle, the reverse of rules based on brother and sister avoidance. As regards marriage, Williams refers to a Rarotongan king, one of whose wives was his own sister [I expect he means real sister], by whom he had three children[4]; but this may have been a marriage of aristocratic policy such as seems to have been carried out sometimes in Tahiti and Hawai'i.

There seems to be no definite information as to special relationship rights and duties; but I have found one or two isolated statements which may have been connected with the matter. Gill says orphans were not in general ill-treated, as the uncles as a matter of course looked after their welfare[5]. This might, of course, refer to the brothers of both parents, and possibly does so; but Gill may have had in mind maternal uncles. He reports a Mangaian chief's reference to the fact that it was he who had named his sister's child[6]; but this may have been a mere accidental coincidence.

MARQUESAS

Relationship terms

The following definitions of Marquesan relationship terms are supplied by des Vergnes[7].

Motua. The real father. *Motua ke*. Adopted father.
Kui. The real mother. *Kui ke*. Adopted mother[8].
Toiki. Term applied to a child so long as it is very young. Later on a son will be the *poiti*, and the daughter the *paoe*.
Tupuna. Grandparents.
Paupuna. Grandsons and granddaughters.

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169.
[2] Gill, *D.L.P.* p. 318.
[3] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 15.
[4] Williams, p. 134.
[5] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 15.
[6] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 325.
[7] Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 717 *note* 1.
[8] Cf. Gaussin, p. 64 (*motua*, father; *kui*, mother).

Tuana. The eldest brother of a man, and eldest sister of a woman.
Tuane. The eldest brother of a woman, and eldest sister of a man.
Teina. The younger brother of a man, and younger sister of a woman.
Teine. The younger brother of a woman, and younger sister of a man.

Des Vergnes says the words "aunt" and "uncle" are hardly employed; they are formed with *motua* or *kui*, with the four preceding names.

Tautain refers to the use of different terms for elder brother, elder sister, younger brother, and younger sister, but does not say what they were[1].

Gaussin says the term *iamutu* was applied to the nephew or niece of a maternal uncle[2]; this is the same word as the *ilamutu* of Samoa and Tonga, the *l* being wanting in the Marquesas.

Hou-o-na. Son-in-law, daughter-in-law[3].
Tokete. Brother-in-law of a man, or sister-in-law of a woman[4].

Brother and sister

According to Mathias, marriage or intercourse between brothers and sisters was most strictly taboo[5]; but Lisiansky says that it sometimes happened that a father lived with his daughter, and a brother with his sister[6]. D'Urville tells us that chiefs and kings only married into their own families, and often married their nearest relatives[7]. Tautain refers to statements that the Marquesans married their sisters, but, without denying that the custom may have existed, he suggests that a mistake had been made concerning the native words[8]. In this he is probably referring to the confusion between relatives in the classificatory and the European sense—a confusion which confronts anyone collecting Polynesian evidence at every turn. I may say that Mathias and Tautain, each of whom lived some time in the Marquesas, are the more trustworthy witnesses.

Mathias refers to a long list of successive generations of Marquesan gods and goddesses, beginning with O-te-paona and his sister and wife O-te-koena, who were regarded as the earliest sources from which existing generations were derived; and a curious feature of the beliefs of the people concerning these gods and goddesses is that the first thirty-six divine married couples were supposed all to have been brothers and

[1] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VI, p. 648.
[2] Gaussin, p. 68.
[3] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VI, p. 642.
[4] Gaussin, p. 68.
[5] Mathias, p. 114.
[6] Lisiansky, p. 83.
[7] D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. I, p. 504.
[8] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VI, p. 644.

sisters, whilst afterwards this kind of union had ceased[1]. Is it possible that this belief was based upon traditions of old matrimonial practices that had long passed away?

Mother's brother and father's sister

I have found no information as to the general relationships between a person and his or her mother's brother, or father's sister; but a couple of customs are recorded, to which I will refer. According to Tautain, there was a rite on the occasion of the first menstruation of a girl. She sat on the basement of dry stones of her house, having beside her a relation—a brother of her mother by preference. The whole population filed past in front of her, and as they passed, the relation cut from them little locks of hair, which he placed on the white *tapa* which the girl had between her thighs. In commenting on this, Tautain refers to the unwillingness of Marquesans to cut their hair in public, and their precautionary practice of burying it, and contrasts with this their having it cut in public, and abandoning it to another person, to adorn the girl at her new periods, in spite of the impurity of the menstrual blood[2]. The ceremony certainly seems to have been an important one, and the selection of the maternal uncle for its performance is in accord with ideas—probably of previous times—of his special association with the girl, as being from the social point of view, her father. The other custom is told by von den Steinen. The preservation and teaching of the endless genealogies and feast-songs was the most important work of certain *tuhuka* [priests], and knotted strings of fibre were used as aids to memory, each knot in a string representing a person's name, or a verse in a song[3]. A young chief had to learn his genealogical tree and certain songs by heart, and when every string had been learnt a little feast was held. The child sat in the centre, and the *tuhuka* conducting, they all [? who] sang together. The *tuhuka* wore the as yet unplaited strings round his neck, and afterwards he plaited the knots [I think he means the knotted strings] on the sacred head of the mother's brother, and also some of them on the head of the father's sister; ultimately all the strings were handed to the child[4]. I have already referred, in connection with matrilineal descent, to the Marquesan *mata*, or lists of

[1] Mathias, p. 5; see also pp. 41 *sq.*
[2] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VII, pp. 546 *sq.*
[3] Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. XXV, pp. 501 *sq.* [4] *Ibid.* p. 503.

ancestors, of which the "genuine" *mata* was that of the mother. It seems then consistent with the idea of matrilineal descent that the head which primarily received the memory strings should be that of the mother's brother; and the placing of some of them on that of the father's sister may perhaps be regarded as a recognition of some paternal right, as well as that of the mother.

PAUMOTU

Relationship terms

The principal source of information as to relationship terms in the Paumotu is Tregear, and I give the following extracts.

Kaifa. A husband; a married man[1]. *Tikatika*. A husband; a boy[2].

Vahine. A wife[3]. *Kauhume*. A wife[4]. *Mohine*. A wife[5]. *Morire*. A woman; a wife; a female (of a man)[6].

Kave. Parents, relationship, a nephew[7].

Makui. Father. *Makui fangai*. An adopted father. *Makui kave*. Uncle[8].

Makuahini. Mother; aunt[9].

Tamariki. A child[10]. *Fanaunga*. A child?[11].

Makaro. A son; a boy[12]. *Makaro-fangai*. A son by adoption[13].

Manania. Female (of animals); a girl; a daughter. *Manania-fangai*. An adopted daughter[14]. *Tamahine*. Daughter?[15].

Taeake is defined by Tregear as meaning a brother, and there is no mention of any limitation in its use[16]; but he gives *tungane* as the term for brother, as spoken of by the sister[17].

Tuahine. A sister[18]. *Tungahine*. The sister of a man[19].

Tuakana. Eldest girl; eldest boy; his elder brother[20].

Teina. A younger brother or sister[21].

Nanatupu. A first cousin[22].

Tupuna-kaifa. A grandfather[23].

Tupuna-morire. A grandmother[24].

Hongavai or *metua-hongavai*. A father-in-law[25].

Karanga-purunga. A mother-in-law[26].

[1] Tregear, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 52. Cf. Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. IV, p. 80. [3] *Ibid.* p. 158. Cf. Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 8.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 56. [5] *Ibid.* p. 182. [6] *Ibid.* p. 183. [7] *Ibid.* p. 56.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 120 (cf. *fangai*, to feed. *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 18).
[9] *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 120. [10] *Ibid.* vol. IV, p. 75. [11] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 22.
[12] Tregear, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 119. Cf. Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 8.
[13] *Ibid.* p. 119. [14] *Ibid.* p. 120. [15] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 8.
[16] Tregear, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 73.
[17] *Ibid.* p. 85. Cf. Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 45, where the term is in fact used for brother of a sister, though there is nothing to show that it could not have a more extended meaning. [18] Tregear, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 85.
[19] Used in text in Caillot in this sense (*Mythes*, p. 45), but the caution given in the last note but one must be repeated.
[20] Tregear, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 85. [21] *Ibid.* p. 79.
[22] *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 185. See *nana*, his; belonging to him or her (vol. III, p. 184) and *tupu* (*tangata tupu*), a neighbour (vol. IV, p. 87).
[23] *Ibid.* vol. IV, p. 87. [24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Ibid.* vol. III, pp. 5, 180. [26] *Ibid.* p. 54.

Hunonga or *hunonga-tika*. A son-in-law[1].
Hungona-rire (*sic*) or *hunonga-morire*. A daughter-in-law[2].
Taukete. A brother-in-law[3].
Taukete-moriri. A sister-in-law[4].

Brother and sister

I have found no information as to the conduct towards each other of a brother and sister, but the Paumotuan island of Hao had a tradition of a brother and sister marriage similar to that of the Marquesas. This tradition, said to have been an account of the ancestors of Hao, begins with the creation of the world, etc., by Vatea and his making of Tiki and his wife Hina, who was formed from a rib of Tiki. They had a son and daughter who married, and then follows a list of nine more successive generations, in each of which the married parents were the brother and sister children of the previous generation. The tradition then says that men did evil in this world and Vatea was angry, and goes on to give an account similar to that of the flood, with a man and wife and children, and their canoe, followed by an attempt to construct a lofty building and a confusion of tongues. Then comes a long list of successive marriages, in no one of which are the spouses brother and sister[5]. Disregarding the portion of this story which is so strikingly like that of the Bible, it may be that the introduction of the series of successive brother and sister marriages, and the definite ending of these, may have been based on beliefs as to matrimonial practices in the distant past.

NIUE

Relationship terms

Tane. A man, a husband[6].
Hoana. A wife[7].
Matua tane. Father[8].
Matua fefine. Mother[9].
Tama. A son; a child[10]. A child, male or female, the term *tama-tane* being used for a boy, and *tama-fifine* for a girl[11].
Matakainanga. A brother[12]. A man's brother, or a woman's sister[13].
Tungane. A woman's brother[14].

[1] *Ibid.* p. 8. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 7 *sq.* [3] *Ibid.* vol. IV, p. 78. [4] *Ibid.* p. 76.
[5] Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 7–16. [6] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169.
[7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.* [9] *Ibid.*
[10] H. Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 68. [11] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169.
[12] Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 66. [13] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169.
[14] *Ibid.* Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 69.

Mahakitanga. A sister[1].
Taokete. An elder brother or elder sister[2].
Tehina. A younger brother or sister[3]. A younger brother of a brother, and he (Smith) thinks, a younger sister of a sister[4].
Tupuna. A grandfather; an ancestor of any degree[5].
Pulupulu-ola and *moko-puna*. A grandchild[6].
Fungavai. Father-in-law or mother-in-law[7].
Fingona. Son-in-law or daughter-in-law[8].
Maa. Brother-in-law[9].

Brother and sister

I have found no evidence as to the relations between a brother and a sister, but Smith, in commenting on the term *mahakitanga*, meaning a sister, says that *mahaki* means "very great," or "excessive," and that *tanga* is a termination for an abstract noun, corresponding with our "ness"; but he adds that apparently *mahaki* in the word for a sister has no connection with "excessive"[10]. He gives no reason for saying this, and unless there is a definite ground for it, I am free to speculate as to whether the term may not have meant "very greatness" and have referred to the great importance of a sister, as compared with her brother, found in some of the islands, and which, I have suggested, may have had its origin in a system of matrilineal descent. Smith says that the term for incest, of which the people had a great horror, was *tiki*, and that the origin of this term was attributed to the conduct of male and female members of the traditional Maui family, who were brother and sister, but married, and had a child called Tikitiki[11]. The interest of the tale is that it perhaps furnishes us once again with evidence of ideas of incest in the past.

Mother's brother

Here again I have found no evidence on the question of the mother's brother, except one scrap provided by Thomson. He says that, whilst a grown-up son inherited his father's house and land, daughters seem to have had claims on their mother's brother, and these rights were universally recognized[12]. With matrilineal descent, both sons and daughters would, according

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. x, p. 181. Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 65.
[2] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. x, p. 181. Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 68.
[3] Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 68.
[4] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 169.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 170.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 169 *sq.*
[7] Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 20.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 170.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 169.
[11] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 170.
[12] Thomson, *S.I.* p. 136.

to the customs of parts, at all events, of Polynesia, have claims against their maternal uncle; but we can well understand that these claims might be to some extent lost or forgotten in the case of the son, who succeeded to the title of his own father, and so might be more especially noticeable as regarded his sisters.

ROTUMA

In the island of Rotuma the term *oifa* applied to the father or uncle, and *oihoni* to the mother or aunt. The term for a man's sister was *senghoni*; that for a woman's brother was *sengvevene*; and *sosonghi* was used for a man's brother or woman's sister[1].

FOTUNA

The following information as to relationship terms in the island of Fotuna is provided by Grézel[2].

Tau. This word has, among other meanings given by him, that of reciprocity, a relationship between persons and things.
Tau-avanga. Husband and wife.
Tau-tamana. Father and child.
Tau-tinana. Mother and child.
Tamana. Father; paternal uncle. *Tamana fakafai.* Adopted father[3].
Tuatinana. Maternal uncle[4].
Tinana. Mother; maternal aunt. *Tinana fakafai.* Adopted mother; stepmother[5].
Vosa. Son; nephew[6].
Taine. Daughter; niece of maternal aunt[7].
Tau-taina. Brother to brother; sister to sister; male cousin to male cousin; female cousin to female cousin[8].
Tau-tuangaane. Brother and sister; male cousin and female cousin (near and distant)[9].
Tau-tangata. Men of the same age; of the same epoch; generation[10].

No one was so much a stranger to the sister in the ordinary relations of life as the brother[11].

UVEA

In Uvea the members of the same family ought never to appear together without being covered with long garments; and if it happened, even accidentally, that a male cousin

[1] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 478.
[2] Grézel, p. 260.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 255.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 278.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 270.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 301.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 252.
[8] *Ibid.* pp. 260, 252.
[9] *Ibid.* pp. 260, 266.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 260.
[11] P. Poupinel, *A.P.F.* vol. XXXII, p. 99.

should let an improper word escape him in the presence of his women relations, the latter would retire at once, or put an end to the conversation[1].

TONGAREVA

The following Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) terms have been collected by Smith[2] from Lamont's narrative.

Matua. Parent.
Matuavahine. Mother.
Tamaiti. Child. *Tamari*. Boy.
Taina or *teina*. Brother or sister. Lamont also gives *teina* as meaning brother or cousin[3].
Tuahine. Sister.

A brother and sister, after a long absence, could not embrace, but had to sit down facing each other, and nod their heads, one to one side, and the other to the opposite[4]. A first-born might not kiss his sister; nor might she cross his path, when the wind that had passed over her was likely from its course to touch his most sacred person[5]. I have suggested that the reason why a Tongan might not eat anything which his father's sister had carried was fear of the infective taboo arising from her superiority under matrilineal descent. I make here the same suggestion as to the wind and a man's sister; the great sanctity was in her, not in him. The practice disclosed goes, I think, beyond the requirements of sexual avoidance.

A mother might kiss her son, but he might not embrace his mother[6].

BUKABUKA

The following Bukabuka (Danger Island) terms are given by Hutchin[7].

Kainga-tane. Real brother.
Kainga-vaina. Real sister.
Whareatua. The daughter of the elder or eldest brother.
Imakava. The daughter of the sister.
Tainamua. Elder or eldest. *Tainamure*. Younger or youngest[8].

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 16.
[2] Smith, *N.Z.I.* vol. XXII, pp. 101 *sqq*.
[3] Lamont, p. 292.
[4] *Ibid*. p. 136.
[5] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 47.
[6] Lamont, p. 136.
[7] Hutchin, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 176.
[8] No specific relationship is referred to as being that in connection with which these terms are used.

TIKOPIA

Relationship terms

Rivers gives two separate accounts of the relationship terms used in the island of Tikopia, of which one is based upon information obtained from a Wallis Island native named Maresere, who had been in Tikopia for twenty years[1], and the other on particulars collected by Mr Durrad, the missionary[2]. The following is taken from one or other or both of these accounts; but some terms given in only one of them, or as to which the particulars differ materially, will be distinguished by the letters (M) or (D).

Matua or *toku-matua*. Husband.

Nofine or *toku-nofine*. Wife.

Pa. The father; his brothers; the husbands of the mother's sisters; the father of the husband or wife; the daughter's husband.

Nau. The mother; her sister; the wife of the father's brother; the mother of the husband or wife; the son's wife. It is probable (D) that *toku nana* is used for the true mother.

Tama. The child (reciprocal to *pa* and *nau*).

Foasa. A child. *Tama* is used by a woman, *i.e.* by the mother and her sisters, etc.; but *foasa* appears to be used by both men and women, though possibly it is properly a term used by men only (D).

Brothers call one another *taina*, the elder being distinguished as *te rumatua*; and the younger as *te roto*; a brother and sister call one another *kave*. The terms *taina* and *kave* are used by all whom we should call cousins, whether the children of father's brother, father's sister, mother's brother, or mother's sister (M).

Brothers call one another in general *taina*, while the reciprocal term used between a brother and sister is *kave*. There are, however, special terms according to age, the eldest of a family being called *te rumatua*, the youngest *te toetai*, and the intermediate members *te roto*, "the inside." Brothers and sisters are distinguished by the addition to the other terms of *tangata* and *fafine* respectively. The terms *taina* and *kave* are used for cousins of all kinds, *i.e.* for all those of the same generation with whom kinship can be traced, including both categories of cousin. A distinction is made, however, between these two categories; the children of the father's brother or mother's

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 307 *sqq*.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 341 *sq*. See also Mr Durrad's vocabulary in *J.P.S.* vol. XXII, pp. 86–95 and 141–8.

sister are called *toku taina* (or *kave*) *fakalau*, or "my brother (or sister) make good"; while the children of the mother's brother or father's sister are called *toku taina* (or *kave*) *fakapariki*, "my brother (or sister) make bad." I point out that, if there were two intermarrying groups, then whether descent were matrilineal or patrilineal, the "good" cousins would be those of the same group, and the "bad" ones those of the other group (the cross-cousins).

The mother's brother is called *tuatina*, and he calls his sister's son *iramutu* [which is the same term as the *ilamutu* of Samoa and Tonga].

The father's sister is called *mesakitanga*, though (D) she may also be called *nana*. She calls her brother's child *tama*.

All kinds (in the classificatory sense) of grandparents are called *tupuna*; but (D) those of different sex are distinguished by the addition of the words *tangata* or *fafine*, and (D) the grandfather may also be called *putangata*, and the grandmother *pufine*.

All grandchildren are called *makupuna*; though (D) they may also be called *tama*, thus classing them with the children.

The father of the husband or wife is *tamaha fongoai*, or *pa fongoai*, but is often spoken of simply as *pa*. Similarly the mother-in-law is *toko nana fongoai*, or simply *nana* or *nane* (D).

The consort of son or daughter is called *fongoana* or *tautau pariki*, or may be addressed by name (D).

The wife's brother and sister's husband call one another *tangata* or *ma*; and two sisters-in-law call one another *fine* or *ma* (D).

The four relatives of this category of different sex—*i.e.* the wife's sister and sister's husband (woman speaking) on the one hand, and the husband's brother and brother's wife (man speaking) on the other hand, call one another *taina*, the word normally used between brothers; *i.e.* this word, when denoting relatives by marriage, is used between those of different sex. This term is also used by the husbands of two sisters, and probably by the wives of two brothers (D).

A number of these terms could be picked out, for comparison of their meanings with those given above, from a Tikopian vocabulary prepared by Durrad[1], but I have not done this.

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. XXII, pp. 86–95, 141–8.

Mother's brother and father's sister

The mother's brother had several important functions. When the umbilical cord of a newly-born child dropped off, and again when the latter wore his perineal cloth for the first time, there was an exchange of presents between the mother's brother and the father. It was the mother's brother who incised his nephew, and either he or the mother who afterwards smeared the boy with turmeric. He took a leading part in digging a man's grave. A man and his mother's brother might each take the possessions of the other, though there do not appear to have been any special regulations connected with the practice; nor did Rivers find that a man showed any special obedience to his mother's brother. The mother's brother shared with the father the presents given on the marriage of his niece. The father's sister had the deciding voice in connection with her nephew's marriage; she usually selected his wife, and if he made his own choice, and she forbade the match, it would be given up. She would give him bark-cloth, mats and food, but he might not take them without leave, or even ask for them. Similarly he would give things to her, but she would neither take nor ask for them. He might go into her house and talk and eat with her[1].

Cross cousins

There were interesting relations between cross-cousins (*taina fakapariki*) as distinguished from cousins whose parents were of the same sex (*taina fakalau*). The cross-cousins might not strike, injure, or speak evil of one another, though the others might do so; and the distinction was evidently based upon something more than mere social etiquette, for Rivers says that, if a child struck the child of his father's sister, the latter would call upon her *atua* to injure the offender, and speaks of the sore with which that offender would be afflicted, and describes the further supplications offered to the gods, and complications that arose[2].

Avoidance as between matrimonial relations

I have found no reference to brother and sister avoidance in Tikopia; but Rivers gives information as to certain avoidances and taboo between relatives by marriage, as to which I

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 308 *sq.*, 312. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 343 *sq.*

may say that I have come across no mention of anything of the sort in any of the islands of Polynesia proper. There was avoidance between a man and his wife's brother; they might not say each other's names; if one was sitting, the other might not take anything from above his head; indeed he would not go near him; if one wished to speak to the other he would do so only from a distance; they would not bathe at the same time in a stream. The mother of a man's wife was spoken of as being very taboo; nothing might be taken from above her head when she was sitting, and a wide sweep had to be made round her in passing. The same rules applied to a wife's father, though in this case they were not regarded as so important[1].

Observations

I will comment on a couple of points in this evidence. In the discussion of matrilineal descent I have suggested that the practice for the family of a father, on the occasion of the birth of a child, to give presents to the family of the mother may have had its origin in a recognition that, under a system of matrilineal descent, it was the mother's family that would have the prior right to the child; that the giving of the presents was a survival of a system of purchasing it; and that the fact that the process of purchase was neutralized by the return presents given by the mother's family to that of the father was not necessarily inconsistent with this suggested explanation. The statement that if a child struck the child of his father's sister, she would call upon her *atua* to injure the offender, who would in consequence be afflicted with a sore, is probably another example of the sister's curse, which I have associated with her superior sanctity, under matrilineal descent.

DUFF ISLANDS

Fox gives the following particulars, obtained from two quite young boys of the island of Taumako of the Duff group, of relationship terms used in that island[2].

Sama. Father; father's brother; mother's brother.
Sina. Mother; father's sister; mother's sister.
Tukuata liki. Son.
Tuku kafe. Brother (apparently a general word). *Tuku-tokane*. Elder brother. *Tuku teina*. Younger brother.

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 308 *sq.*

[2] Fox, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVI, p. 190.

Tuku tofine. Sister, whether elder or younger.
Sipu. Grandfather; grandmother; husband of father's sister.

He was told by these boys that there was a special bond between a boy and his mother's brother; he might take any of his uncle's property freely, and when the uncle died, all his property went to his nephew[1]. I may point out that if this right of inheritance by the nephew applied to land, then, bearing in mind that in Polynesia succession to title and inheritance of the land generally went together, it may be that succession was matrilineal.

ONGTONG JAVA AND SIKAIANA

Apparently the languages of these two clusters of islets are largely Polynesian in character. Ray has given some vocabulary matter collected from the works of other writers[2], from which some relationship terms can be extracted; but as in a number of cases the terms given by writers differ, and I do not find terms which have the special interest of age or family distinction, or of different use between members of the same or opposite sexes, I do not propose to lengthen this chapter by reproducing them, more especially as Ray's particulars are so readily accessible.

FUTUNA (NEW HEBRIDES)

Some modes of relationship address in Futuna (N. Hebrides) are given by Gunn, though only in English[3]. Children called their father's brothers "father," and their mother's sisters "mother," and the latter called the children "son" and "daughter." They called their mother's brothers "uncle," and their father's sisters "aunt," while the latter called them "nephew" and "niece." A father called his daughter's husband "nephew," and his son's wife "niece." "They were in reality his nephew and niece when his son or daughter was married, according to native law, to the daughter or son of his sister." Old people were called "grandfather" or "grandmother," and called the children "grandchild."

It was highly improper for brothers and sisters to appear before each other in *déshabille*, or talk in an indecent manner within hearing of each other[4].

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Ray, *J.P.S.* vol. xxvi, pp. 102–5 (Ontong Java); pp. 39–42 (Sikaiana).
[3] Gunn, pp. 205 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 258.

OBSERVATIONS

There are two features of the relationship terms used between brothers and sisters, to which I draw attention. One of these is the terminological distinction between relative ages, and the other is the distinction between members of the same sex and those of opposite sexes. Before doing this I must point out that the *ng* of Samoa, Tonga, Rarotonga and the Paumotu is wanting in the Society Islands, and is changed to *n* (sometimes to *k*) in the Marquesas. In referring to the Society Islands I shall disregard the MS. matter in the British Museum copy of Davies's *Tahitian Grammar* because of the uncertainty as to its authorship and completeness.

Taking first the age distinction, we find that in Samoa, whilst no age distinction in *tuangane* is mentioned, *tei* was used for a younger brother or sister; in the Society Islands *tuaana* was used for an elder, and *teina* for a younger brother or sister. In Tonga *taukete* was used for the elder brother or sister, and *tehina* for the younger; in Rarotonga *tuakana* (? *tuangana*) was used for the elder and *teina* for the younger brother or sister; in the Marquesas *tuana* and *tuane* were used for the elder, and *tiena* and *tiene* for the younger brother or sister; in the Paumotu *tuakana* (perhaps this is the Marquesan *k*) was used for the elder, and *teina* for the younger brother or sister; in Niue *taokete* was used for the elder and *tehina* for the younger brother or sister; in Bukabuka *tainamua* was used for the elder and *tainamure* for the younger of two persons; in Tikopia *taina*, taken by itself, seems to have had no reference to age, but distinguishing terms were added; in the Duff Islands *tuku-tokane* was used for the elder brother, and *tuku-teina* for the younger. This shows how widely spread was the terminological age distinction, the root terms in most cases being apparently *tuangane* and its equivalents for the elder and *tei* and its derivatives for the younger.

The terminological distinction between persons of opposite sexes and those of the same sex is, I think, specially interesting, for, as Rivers points out, it would seem to be an original feature of oceanic nomenclature; and he suggests that in places where the distinction was absent it had formerly been present[1]. In Samoa *tuangane* meant brother of sister and apparently *tei* was not used as between the sexes; in Tonga *tuongaane* meant

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, p. 15.

brother of sister, but *taukete* and *tehina* were only used as between brother and brother, and sister and sister; in the Society Islands *tuaane* meant brother of sister, and *tuahine* meant sister of brother, but *tuakana* and *teina* were used for persons of the same sex; Rarotonga does not help us in this matter; in the Marquesas *tuane* and *teine* were used as between brother and sister, and sister and brother, but *tuana* and *teina* were used as between brother and brother, and sister and sister; in the Paumotu *tungahine* meant the sister of a man, but the use of *teina*, as defined by Tregear, does not necessarily point to use only as between the same or opposite sexes; in Niue *tungane* meant a woman's brother, and *mata kainanga* meant, according to Smith, a man's brother or a woman's sister, and, though we cannot say exactly what he means in defining *taokete*, he thinks that *tehina* was used between brother and brother and sister and sister; in Rotuma *senghoni* meant man's sister, *sengvevene* meant woman's brother, and *sosonghi* was used between brother and brother, and sister and sister; in Fotuna *tau-tuangaane* was used as between persons of opposite sexes, and *tau-taina* between those of the same sex; Tongareva, does not help us; nor does Bukabuka; in Tikopia a brother and sister called one another *kave*, but brothers called each other *taina*; the Duff Islands do not help us. A number of terms are introduced into this comparative statement; but I draw attention to the fact that those used as between members of opposite sexes ended in a number of cases with *e*, and those used between members of the same sex with *a*.

The special relationship between a man and his sister has been attributed to sexual avoidance, they being members of the same group, between whom marriage or sexual intercourse would be improper, and many of the features of the attitude of a brother towards his sister may no doubt be attributed to this relationship. A person's relationship to his or her mother's brother has been associated with the fact that, with matrilineal descent, it was the maternal uncle, and not the father, that was related to the nephew or niece; and here again this interpretation is presumably correct to a large extent. A man's relationship in Melanesia to his father's sister is, according to Rivers's hypothesis, closely connected with her former position as a potential wife; and this may account for it, partially at all events. I suggest, however, that the customs and practices to which I have referred in discussing both

matrilineal descent and what I have called special relationship matters introduce a fourth factor, which must be borne in mind in considering Polynesia, namely the recognition by the Polynesians of a social, and indeed religious, superiority of a sister over her brother, which seems, in some islands at all events—the bulk of the detailed information as to this comes from Samoa—to have given the sister a certain amount of control over her brother, a control which, it appears, was sometimes transmitted to her descendants, or some of them, and could be exercised over his descendants, or some of them. I have suggested that this superiority of the sister, and her right of control was founded on a lingering belief that, notwithstanding the development of patrilineal succession, the sister's son had, under the system, still continuing to a greater or less extent, of matrilineal descent, a better right than had the children of the brother to be eligible for succession to the name or title of the social group; and I have, I think, shown how the attitude and practices found to have prevailed as between a person and his sister, his mother's brother and his father's sister respectively, may in some cases have had their origin, wholly or partly, in the superiority of the sister over the brother.

CHAPTER XX

TOTEMISM

PRELIMINARY

A VERY large number of the Polynesian gods were believed to be incarnate in or to have a practice of entering into creatures of the animal kingdom, and to be immanent in or enter into trees, plants and inanimate objects; and the beliefs of the people as to the attitude towards themselves of these gods, and of their incarnations or objects with which they were associated, and the customs and practices of the people in relation to the animals and other objects were of such a character that they raise the question whether the evidence does not point to something which, if it was not itself totemism, must have had its origin in totemism, or in ideas similar to those upon which totemism has probably been based. The main feature by which the Polynesian system differs from true totemism is that the animals and objects were regarded as being incarnations of or associated with gods, which is not a feature of totemism. The question arises, therefore, how are we to account for the difference between the Polynesian system and true totemism? If we are to believe that the cult of the incarnate gods of Polynesia was a development of, or connected in some way with totemism, how are we to suppose that the evolution from one system to the other had come about? This problem, which is one of considerable complexity and difficulty, has been the subject of discussion by writers. My original intention was to consider the subject afresh here in the light of the more extensive materials which I have obtained from my investigation of the ethnology of Polynesia; but this would involve the consideration of the general subject of the worship of the dead, which, whilst it may probably have been connected closely with the Polynesian system of incarnate gods, includes matters that do not touch the question of totemism. This subject of the worship of the dead is a large and important one, and does not come within the scope of the present book, though I hope to be able to deal with it in the near future It is therefore necessary to postpone till then the consideration

of the connection of the Polynesian system with true totemism. Some of the evidence, however, points incidentally to a connection between sacred animals or objects and dead men, and whilst refraining from entering into a discussion of the origin of the Polynesian system, I do not propose to adopt what would, I think, be the inconvenient plan of excluding all evidence of this character merely because it forms part of the material for the consideration of the wider subject.

I shall often use the terms "totem" and "totemism" in headings for shortness, and for convenience, to connect the headings with the totemic ideas and practices to which they are intended to call attention; the terms will also occur from time to time in the text, especially when I am quoting their use by other writers. It must be understood, however, that in using the terms I am not suggesting that the subject with which we are dealing is true totemism.

SAMOA

General

Turner gives us two lists of incarnate gods (I am using this term for shortness, disregarding the question of actual incarnation, and shall often do so in subsequent pages), which he divides into "gods superior—war and general village gods" and "gods inferior or household gods"[1]. As stated in a previous chapter, I think that Turner's village is what I have called a village district, composed of a number of villages; but we must hardly assume that Turner's twofold division of the gods is terminologically exact. Probably his first list may be regarded broadly as including general island gods, gods of districts[2], village districts and perhaps some large villages, whilst the second includes small villages and domestic households.

I have, I think, shown that the grouping and sub-grouping of the Samoans was substantially social in character, families and branches and sub-branches of families tending to occupy their own districts, village districts and villages; and that even where branches of separate families dwelt together, in the sense that they occupied villages in the same village district, this apparent local grouping seems to have originated mainly in

[1] Turner, chaps. IV and V.

[2] In some cases it is clear that the areas to which he refers are districts, and he includes some well-known important Samoan gods whose worship was undoubtedly widely spread.

family relationships based on previous intermarriages. If this view is accepted, we have *prima facie* ground for believing that these gods of local areas were in fact to a large extent the deities of specific social groups and sub-groups of the people, which would be consistent, so far as the evidence goes, and eliminating the question of exogamy, with our conception of totemic clans.

Pritchard says that the national gods, by which he means what were regarded as the original gods who made the universe, had no incarnations; that the district gods, which he defines as the gods presiding over the various political divisions of the islands, were incarnate, some in birds, others in fishes, one in the rainbow, another in a meteor—and so on; that what he calls "town gods" generally took up their abode in birds, and the whole family of the bird which the god had selected was held sacred by the town; and that gods of individuals, to whom a man was dedicated at birth, took up their abode in a shark, coconut, banana, bonito, eel, etc.[1] The chief points of these remarks are the alleged absence of incarnation of the original creator gods, and the special predilection of what Pritchard calls "town gods" for birds. As to the former proposition, I may say that Tangaroa was, I think, the only dominant creation god known in Samoa, and that he (the great creator god, as I have contended, of the people whom I have called "the Tangaroans") was, according to Turner, represented by the *turi* or snipe, in which he says the god was incarnate, but which I believe was an incarnation, not of Tangaroa, but of Sina, who helped him in his work of creation; the other objects which Turner connects with Tangaroa were a large wooden bowl, a hollow stone, and the small stones under the trees in a sacred grove in the interior[2]. I cannot say which other gods Pritchard had in mind, to whom his description of these original gods would apply.

Stair divides the Samoan supernatural beings into four classes: (1) the *atua* or original gods, (2) *tupua*, or deified spirits of chiefs, (3) *aitu*, including descendants of original gods, and (4) *o sanali'i*, an inferior class of mischievous spirits. The only example he gives of the first class is Tangaroa; he says nothing about incarnation of gods of the second class; but when he describes the third class, among whom he includes by name some of the oldest and most important members of the Samoan

[1] Pritchard, pp. 110 *sqq.*, 107. [2] Turner, pp 53 *sq.*

Olympus, he says that they were believed to be accustomed to take the forms of certain objects, such as birds, fish, sharks, stones, reptiles, etc., as well as human form[1]; and as to this I may say that Turner's list of gods superior includes the important Samoan gods, a number of whom had animal incarnations.

There are other references to the same subject. Every family in Samoa had its own tutelary animal, or *aitu*—a pigeon or some other bird, a fish, etc.[2] Each district had its tutelary deity and each family its totem[3]. Each family had its divinity (*aitu*). Some had as divinities the fish in the sea, other families had birds as divinities[4]. Besides the chief gods who personified the powers of nature, the Samoans worshipped and feared a number of lesser divinities—*aitu*. They had house-gods, district gods, forest and grove gods. Most of these gods were worshipped in the forms of birds, fish, etc.[5] The chiefs all had their *aitu* or spirits, which they worshipped or obeyed; the *aitu* of the chief who made this statement were fresh water eels[6]. Every village had its own god, everyone his own *Lares* or *Penates*, incarnate in animal form[7]. Most of the supernatural beings lived in eels, inkfish, flying fox, owls, etc.[8]

Rivers was told that each district (I quote the term actually used by him without reference to my defined terminology for Samoa) had its *atua*; that the *atua* of the informant's district on the outskirts of Apia was the *fe'e* or octopus, this animal being the *atua* of about 400 people; and that there was a house for the animal at a place called Falipouma; that the *atua* of the next district was the *lulu* or owl, this bird belonging to about 500 people, and living at Sangata; that in another district the *atua* was a big kind of shell. He was also told that each family had an *atua*, though he could not find out what his informant meant by a family. Among other *atua* mentioned to him were a shark and a tree[9]. I must point out, as regards Rivers's references to specific districts, with estimated populations, that it must not be assumed that these were the only districts where these respective *atua* were worshipped. We have seen how some of the families were scattered about, and it may well be

[1] Stair, pp. 211–16.
[2] Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 213 *note* 2.
[3] Ella, *J.P.S.* vol. VI, p. 155.
[4] Stuebel, p. 130.
[5] Graeffe, *M.G.G. Hamburg*, 1887–8, p. 71.
[6] Wilkes, vol. II, pp. 76 *sq.*
[7] Hood, p. 142.
[8] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 23.
[9] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 368.

that these gods were worshipped in other areas, besides those mentioned by Rivers. Fe'e, in particular, was a most important Samoan god of the dead, and was, I suspect, one of the oldest Samoan deities; I cannot conceive that his worship was confined to a group of 400 people, though the district near Apia in Tuamasanga seems to have been the centre of his worship.

I have made rough calculations as to the frequency of the appearance of each of the animal and other forms of incarnation, etc., in Turner's two lists of gods. There is no perceptible difference as regards the characters of these incarnations in the two respective lists. The forms which appear most frequently in the lists are the eel and the octopus or cuttle-fish; next come the turtle and mullet; then the owl, the rail, and the pigeon; then the domestic fowl and the lizard. The list also includes the heron, creeper bird, kingfisher, snipe, and other forms of birds, the bat and flying fox, several fish, including the sting-ray, also the centipede, cockle, land crab, and crayfish and a butterfly. The only quadrupedal incarnations mentioned are the dog, and the heart of the pig. Gods are also stated to have been immanent in, or represented by stones, shells, certain shrubs, trees, leaves and seaweed, a skull, shark's teeth and whale's teeth; also the moon, a star, lightning, a rainbow and a cloud; also a wooden bowl, coconut leaf basket, and a coconut spear; and they became incarnate in, or appeared as, human beings[1]. There is no mention of the shark as a god, though shark's teeth are included.

In going through these lists we find examples of the following:

(1) Two or more villages or other areas, or two or more families[2] having the same god with the same incarnation[3].

(2) Two or more areas or two or more families having the same god with different incarnations[4].

(3) One area or family whose god has several incarnations[5].

(4) An area and a family who have the same god with the same incarnation[6].

(5) An area and a family who have the same god with different incarnations[7].

(6) An area and a family who have different gods[8].

[1] Turner, chaps. IV and V.

[2] By gods of areas I mean Turner's "gods superior—war and general village gods"; by gods of families I mean his "gods inferior, or household gods."

[3] Turner, pp. 23, 26 *sq.*, 44, 44 *sq.*, 46 *sq.*, 49.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 23 *sq.*, 36, 37 *sq.*, 46 *sq.*, 47 *sq.*, 51, 54 *sq.*, 59, 64 *sq.*, 67 *sq.*, 74, 74 *sq.*

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 26 *sq.*, 28 *sq.*, 50, 51, 72, 74, 76.

[6] *Ibid.* pp. 28–31.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 36 *sqq.*, 46 *sqq.*, 48, 49 *sq.*, 51, 60 *sq.*

[8] *Ibid.* chaps. IV and V (frequent).

Some most interesting insight into the matter might have been obtained if only Turner had in each case given the names of his districts, villages and families, which we could have compared with the voluminous detailed information provided by Krämer. We could, for instance, have tried to find out whether the occupants of the areas and the families that came under categories 1 and 4 had a close social relationship, and compare this with the relationship, if any, of those of categories 2 and 5; we might have found a possible explanation of category 3; and as regards category 6, we might have found some clue to a differentiation between the worship of an area as a whole, and of the social groups, perhaps related, that occupied it. Unfortunately, however, the needful information is not available.

Speaking of the general question, Turner says that some birds and fishes were sacred to particular deities, and certain persons abstained from eating them; a person would not eat a fish supposed to be under the protection and care of his household god, but he would eat without scruple a fish sacred to the gods of other families[1]. He then goes on to say that the dog, and some kinds of fish and birds were sacred to the greater deities—the *dii majorum gentium*—of the Samoans; and of course *all the people* (my italics) rigidly abstained from these things[2]. It is unfortunate that he is not more explicit as to this matter; but it is possible that Turner is drawing attention, in a loose and unsatisfactory way, to a system of grouping and sub-grouping, under which each sub-group had its sacred animal, which it would not eat, whilst there was another animal which no member of the entire group would eat.

Attitude of the people towards the totem

We now come to the question of the attitude of the people towards the sacred animals. Turner explains the fundamental feature of this in general terms by saying that a man would eat freely of what was regarded as the incarnation of the god of another man, but would consider it death to injure or eat the incarnation of his own god, who was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body, and causing to generate there the very thing which he had eaten, until it produced death. This class of genii or tutelar deities was, he says, called *aitu fale*, or gods of the house[3]. Williams tells us

[1] Turner, pp. 112 *sq.* [2] *Ibid.* p. 113.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 17 *sq.* Cf. Brown, p. 334.

that the method by which the Samoans demonstrated their conversion was by publicly cooking and eating their gods; though some of them did this with a fear that the gods would gnaw their vitals, so that they would swell up or fall down dead, a fate which they tried to avert by drinking large quantities of coconut oil and salt water[1]. Pritchard says that the eating of the tutelary deity involved certain death, the god transferring his abode to the body of the transgressor, and remaining there till the thing eaten was reproduced in his body and killed him[2]; but other people might eat it[3]. Fraser says the tutelary animal of a family was specially reverenced by them from generation to generation, and none of them would ever mention its name. A convert renounced heathendom by publicly destroying this animal *aitu*, and the spectators stood by, expecting that he would immediately fall down dead[4]. Stuebel refers to an attribution to the family god, in its animal form, of the killing of a person, who had been guilty of theft and swore falsely that he was not so[5]. Graeffe says the animals were sacred and might not be eaten[6]. Krämer refers to the fact that the prohibition only applied to the family or village district by which the god was worshipped[7].

A number of specific examples of these practices are given, and many of them supply details which present a clearer and fuller picture of the attitude of the people towards the animals, and so make it desirable that they should be referred to separately, notwithstanding a certain amount of repetition which this involves. Turner gives a considerable number of examples, in addition to those which I quote, but it is not necessary for me to recapitulate them all.

In one village[8] an owl, the incarnation of the war god Fanonga, was preserved as a pet, to which offerings of food were presented; and if a dead owl were found, the villagers assembled, burned their bodies with firebrands, and beat their foreheads with stones, till the blood flowed[9]. Practically the same performances attended the discovery of the dead body of an owl, an incarnation of the war god Tongo[10]. The great land god Moso was regarded by one family as incarnate in the

[1] Williams, pp. 434, 436. [2] Pritchard, p. 108. [3] *Ibid.* p. 107.
[4] Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 213 *note* 2.
[5] Stuebel, p. 130. [6] Graeffe, *M.G.G. Hamburg*, 1887–8, p. 71.
[7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 159.
[8] This is Turner's term. I think it means what I have called a village district.
[9] Turner, pp. 25 *sq.* [10] *Ibid.* pp. 60 *sq.*

cuttle-fish, and by another in the domestic fowl. The former family dare not eat the cuttle-fish, and the latter believed that, if they ate the fowl, delirium and death would follow[1]. Moso also appeared to one family in the form of a species of pigeon called *tu* (*Phlegoenas Stairi*). There was a tradition that the god had been born from a pigeon's egg[2], but I cannot show a connection between these two statements. The village god Nonia was incarnate in the cockle; any man of that village who picked up the shell fish on the shore and carried it away would suffer from a cockle appearing on some part of his body; if he ate it, the cockle would grow on his nose[3]. Salevao was the name of a family god, incarnate in the eel and the turtle; any member of the family eating either incarnation was taken ill, and, before death, heard the voice of the god saying from within his body: "I am killing this man; he ate my incarnation"[4]. We are told of a chief whose personal god was an eel. He fed it and worshipped it and obeyed its commands; and he would have killed anyone who tried to catch, or even touched or disturbed it[5]. The war god Sepo Malosi was believed by one family to be incarnate in the prickly sea urchin, and the eating of this by a member of the family caused the growth of a prickly sea urchin within his body[6]. The god Tongo was also incarnate with one family in the mullet; and the eating of this incarnation brought on a curse in the form of a squint[7]. The pigeon, as the incarnation of a family god Vave, was carefully kept and fed by different members of the family in turn[8]. In some parts of Samoa, where pigeons were kept as pets, the killing of a "king pigeon" was thought to be as great a crime as was the taking the life of a man[9]. It is probable that by "king pigeon" is meant the specially sacred species to which I shall refer later on. It was also said that when the inhabitants of Aana were exiled after war by the conquering people of Manono, the pigeons abandoned the district, but returned when the people of Aana were allowed to return[10]. In Olosenga (one of the islands of Manu'a) a poison-toothed eel was regarded as the incarnation of the god Fuailangi. The people would not eat it, and whenever it crawled out of the water, it was caught and carried round on a stretcher and treated with reverence[11]. A family god, Apelesa,

[1] Turner, p. 37. [2] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XII, p. 145. [3] Turner, p. 40.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 50 *sq.* [5] Wilkes, vol. II, pp. 76 *sq.* [6] Turner, p. 51.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 61. We have seen that this god was also incarnate in an owl.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 64. [9] Wilkes, vol. II, p. 122. [10] *Ibid.*
[11] Krämer, *H.O.S.* pp. 465 *sq.*

was incarnate in the turtle; though none of the family dare partake of this, any of them was willing to help a neighbour to cut it up and cook it; but, by way of self protection, he would tie a bandage over his mouth, lest some embryo turtle should slip down his throat, grow up, and cause his death[1]. The sting ray was the incarnation with one family of the god Tongo; and so great was their respect for it, that, not only would they not eat it themselves, but even if it were caught by another family, a refusal by the latter to refrain from cooking it and give it up would be followed by a fight[2]. Any member of a family who caught or killed a butterfly, the incarnation of their god Taumanupepe, was liable to be struck dead by the god[3]. We are told of a bird whose death not only involved mourning and weeping and cutting of heads with stones, but was followed by a solemn ceremony, the bird being wrapped up in *tapa* and publicly buried. The explanation of this was said to be the fear that if they did not propitiate in this way the god whose incarnation had died, he would abandon the village, or some other dire evil would befall its inhabitants[4]. Krämer gives an account of a custom in Olosenga in connection with the god Fuailangi (whom I have mentioned already), incarnate also in the lamprey. Whenever a lamprey came ashore, it was put into a large litter and carried round the whole island; after which it was borne up a hill, apparently a general burying place for stranded lampreys, and solemnly buried in a large grove made of stones. After this there was a funeral feast at which many pigs were roasted and eaten. The feast might last for six days, and during this period stones were collected for the monument on the grave[5]. Turner, speaking of the same god (incarnate in a sea-eel), says that it had an altar which the people carried about with them [perhaps he is referring to Krämer's "litter"] and that any person found cooking or eating its incarnation had his eyes burned and his scalp clubbed by way of punishment[6]. In bringing tribute to their king, the fetching of the lampreys was preceded by a beating of the people's heads till they bled, and the lamprey was brought on a litter[7]. Rivers gives a few examples of incarnate gods whose worshippers would not eat

[1] Turner, pp. 67 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 75. We have seen that he was also incarnate in the owl and the mullet.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 76.
[4] Pritchard, pp. 110 *sq.*
[5] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 450.
[6] Turner, pp. 225 *sq.*
[7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 451.

them[1]. Pritchard gives examples of the same taboo as between an individual and the god to whom he had been dedicated at birth; among other things he refers to the pigeon whose worshipper would neither eat it nor injure one of its feathers; the dog, which the man whose god it was would not eat, or even strike with his hand or a stone, though others feasted on it; and he speaks of a man whose god was enshrined in a coconut, and who therefore never drank coconut milk[2]. We are told that in one place the limpet was sacred, and so safe from injury[3]. Krämer gives examples of the same idea in connection with eels, inkfish, flying fox and owls[4]. There is a tale of a chief the god of whose family was present in the fowl. Being told to kill and eat a fowl in proof of his conversion to Christianity, he did so; but being still afraid, he blew away the feathers as an offering to the god[5]. The *fuia* bird (*Sturnoides atrifusca*) was not injured, because of fear of the god Moso, to whom it was sacred[6]. Wilkes refers to a practice of making a feast for the king's *aitu*, whose portion was placed near his supposed dwelling place[7], and there are references to this practice in which the *aitu* was identified with an owl[8], and a heron[9].

Split totems

Samoa supplies examples of revered objects which seem to come within the character of what are called "split" totems. The probable origin of these is, according to Frazer, the segmentation of a single original clan, which had a whole animal for its totem, into a number of clans, each of which took the name either of a part of the original animal or of a sub-species of it[10]. The term is adopted in the fourth edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* for the case of different parts of an animal being associated with different divisions of a social group. I may point out in advance that the Samoan evidence merely shows that parts only of certain things were reverenced by certain groups of people; the social connection of those groups with other groups that reverenced other parts of the same things cannot be demonstrated, and at best can only be inferred or suspected. Frazer uses the term "cross" totem for a totem which is neither a whole animal or plant, nor a part of

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 368.
[2] Pritchard, pp. 107 *sq.*
[3] Hood, p. 142.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 23.
[5] Brown, *A.A.A.S.* vol. XIV, p. 404.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 409.
[7] Wilkes, vol. II, p. 133.
[8] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 365.
[9] Stuebel, p. 105.
[10] Frazer, *T. & E.* vol. I, p. 58.

one particular species of animal or plant, but is a particular part of all (or of a number of species of) animals or plants[1].

Pritchard says that in Samoa, Tonga and Fiji, household or family gods were believed to dwell not only in animals and things, but in parts of certain things. For example, the god of one family might dwell in the left wing of a pigeon, and the god of another in a fruit, etc.; and the animal or thing in which the god was enshrined was strictly sacred to the family[2]. Then again, speaking of gods of individuals, to whom men were dedicated at birth, he says these gods sometimes took up their abode in the left wing of a pigeon, the tail of a dog, or the right leg of a pig[3]. Von Bülow questions the possibility of these gods, to which Pritchard refers, selecting as their dwelling places only these limbs of animals, so long as they formed parts of their living bodies[4]. Looking at the matter solely from the point of view of a god's incarnation or entry into an animal, the point raised by von Bülow is an obvious one, for it is difficult to conceive of a god doing such a thing. It seems to me, however, that this very difficulty enhances the value of these conceptions, involved by what I am regarding as "split" totems, as evidence of the totemic origin of the incarnate gods of Polynesia; because in the hypothesis of such an origin we have a conceivable explanation of what would otherwise be very difficult to understand. The idea may have been that the god was supposed to be more or less immanent in the whole animal, but more especially in the particular part to which the belief applied; but unless we recognize a totemic origin in the belief, we have to face the question, why did the god enter specially into a leg or a wing, instead of the head, which was the most sacred part of the body of a man and of an animal, and would therefore be the natural home centre of a god that occupied the entire animal. Turner speaks of a family one of whose gods was embodied in the heart of a pig; and the family would not eat this, believing that by so doing they would swallow the germ of a living heart, by which the insulted god would bring about death[5]. He also tells of a god incarnate in a bird called *ve'a*, who was spoken of as the "eye eater," because, apparently, he picked out people's eyes. The eyes of fish were sacred to this god, and never eaten by any of the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 14.
[2] Pritchard, pp. 401 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 107.
[4] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIV, p. 24.
[5] Turner, p. 72.

family[1]. Frazer refers to this as an example of a cross-split totem[2]; and so far as the fish's eyes are concerned, it was of that character; but there seems to be some confusion between them and the bird in which the god was said to be incarnate. Perhaps the reason for not eating the eyes of fish was that by doing so they would be eating the food of the god. There was another family god called Iulautalo (ends of the taro leaf) to whom the *ends* of leaves and other things were considered sacred, and not to be handled or used in any way. In daily life the family had to cut off the ends of all the taro, bread-fruit and coconut leaves which they required for culinary purposes. Ends of taro, yams, bananas, fish, etc., were also carefully laid aside, and considered as unfit to be eaten, as if they were poison. In case of sickness, however, the god allowed, and indeed required, that the patient should be fanned with the ends of coconut leaflets[3]. Frazer refers to this case as an example of a cross-split totem[4]. I draw attention, however, to the fact that the name of the god connects him only with the taro (talo), which may originally have been the only plant with which he was associated. It seems to me to be conceivable that this was so, and that the idea of the sanctity of the *end* of the taro might produce confusion in the people's minds, and cause them to apply it to the ends of the yams, bananas, fish, etc., also; indeed I suggest that some of the cross-split totems may have been originally only split totems, and may have become cross-split totems in this way. The god Tuiali'i (king of chiefs) was seen in animal forms and also in the *ends* of banana leaves; and anyone using one of these as a cap would be punished with baldness. He was a family god, and all the children born in the family were called by his name[5]. According to one of the legends of the eel god Pili, he married the daughter of the king of Aana, and one of his children by her was named from the back of a turtle caught at that time[6]. The custom of giving to children names derived from events occurring at the times of their birth prevailed in Samoa, and there is nothing in this case to which I can point as a god incarnate in the back of a turtle; but the selection for the child's name of a portion only of the turtle's body points to ideas similar to those shown in split totems.

[1] Turner, p. 74.
[2] Frazer, *T. & E.* vol. I, p. 14.
[3] Turner, p. 70.
[4] Frazer, *T. & E.* vol. I, p. 14.
[5] Turner, pp. 75 *sq.*
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 232 *sqq.*

Sharks

There are a few animals which had better, I think, be mentioned specially; and I will begin with the shark. Turner includes this as an example of an incarnate god, whose worshipper would treat it with veneration, and would not eat it, though another man would do so[1]. Fraser says the *naiufi* was a very sacred sort of shark, very rarely seen; and when one of these was caught the fishermen kept a fire burning night and day for seven days[2]. Hood refers to the worship of the shark, and says that it is alleged that the sharks were tamed at times through being constantly fed at accustomed places; in one place in the island of Tutuila there were two sharks which came in when called upon "in the name of an old famous chief"[3]. Krämer quotes Thilenius (*Globus*, Bd 78) in describing the proceedings after a first successful catch of a shark. A single boat, designated *matamata*, went in front of the other boats of the returning expedition, and in it stood the fisherman who had caught the shark, and gave with his oar a sign to those on the shore that he had done so. Silence prevailed, and when the boat ran ashore the catcher of the shark was greeted by his wife, who handed him a fine mat, and upon this the shark was laid. As it was taboo as food to the people, it was carried to the chief, who took the mat for himself, and divided the flesh of the shark. The man who had caught it might not receive any portion, and had to retire to his house, which was closed, and adopt the appearance of a mourner. Afterwards the chief sent for him and granted him, before the assembled people, the honour or title of *tautai ali'i* (fisherman chief) and he received presents, and sometimes there was a feast[4]. The statement that the shark was taboo as food to the people does not, I think, mean that it was absolutely so, because of the reference to the subsequent division by the chief of the flesh and the enforced abstinence of the man who caught it. I think the requirement was that the shark should first be offered to the chief, after which the people might eat it, though this privilege may have been confined more or less to members of the chief class. I cannot say whether these writers about the shark are describing general or common Samoan customs, or

[1] *Ibid.* p. 17. Cf. Brown, p. 218; Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 368.
[2] Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXV, p. 141. [3] Hood, p. 131.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, pp. 198 *sq.*

whether these were purely local, or connected with some specific social group or groups; Thilenius's statement seems, on the face of it, rather to be the former.

Turtles

The turtle is an incarnation that appears in Turner's lists of gods, referred to above. It is said that these animals, worshipped as *aitu*, were, like the sharks, tamed at times through being constantly fed at accustomed places[1]. There was a legend of a woman and child who, being neglected by their family, wandered off to the coast, where the woman picked up the child and jumped into the sea. They were changed into turtles, and afterwards came in that form at the call of the people of the village[2]. The turtle comes into some of the tales of the god Tinilau or Tingilau; I cannot introduce these stories here, but two points to which I draw attention are that, according to one account, the sister of Tingilau's father having eaten his fishes, he put on her a curse, in consequence of which she bore two turtles, which he put in a pond and thus provided a source of food for Aana; and that subsequently one of these turtles was by guile taken off to Tonga[3]. The latter statement is of a character which, I think, sometimes discloses beliefs of the people as to the inter-island places of origin of their gods.

Cuttle-fish

The cuttle-fish also appears several times in Turner's lists of gods; and this leads me to draw attention to a matter which has to be borne in mind in connection with the incarnate gods of Polynesia. The names of many of these gods were in no way connected with the names of the animals or objects in which they were supposed to be incarnate or immanent, and in these cases the gods can generally be identified with gods bearing the same names in other places with a reasonable amount of confidence. The names of some deities, however, as recorded by writers, were simply those of their incarnations; we have, as regards these, to avoid misconception and error, and the cuttle-fish is an excellent example of this. The name of the cuttle-fish is the same all through Polynesia, subject to the differences that arise in accordance with the rules for interchange of consonants, and in some cases we find cuttle-fish gods, worshipped by that name. In Samoa the word for the

[1] Hood, p. 131. [2] Turner, p. 108. [3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 130.

cuttle-fish was *fe'e*; and one of the great Samoan gods of the dead, incarnate in the cuttle-fish, was named *Fe'e*, or *O le Fe'e*. There were, however, other Samoan gods associated with the cuttle-fish. Moso, a well-known and important god, in no way to be confused or identified with Fe'e, had various incarnations, and in one family it was the cuttle-fish[1]; the same remark applies to another general village or district god Taisumalie[2]. The household god Samani included the cuttle-fish among its incarnations[3]; so did the household god Soesai[4], and the god Tuiali'i[5]. Another god, embodied in the cuttle-fish, was called Fe'e[6]. These gods were apparently quite distinct from the great Fe'e, of the regions below; and yet an enquirer might readily be told by any family who recognized one of these gods in the cuttle-fish that its name was Fe'e, and we might thus be apt to jump to the conclusion that it was the great Fe'e, which might or might not be the case. The same possible source of error would arise, under similar circumstances, with gods having other incarnations. The cuttle-fish, as the embodiment of Fe'e, the god of the dead, must have had an importance and sanctity far in excess of what it possessed as representing minor gods.

Eels, snakes and lizards

Eels, snakes (often spoken of as serpents) and lizards—all of them creatures with pointed tails, and apparently more or less mixed up—occupy a prominent position in the religion of the Polynesians. There were various Samoan tales and beliefs about them; but I only propose to draw attention to a few of these. Lizards seem to have been in a way associated with the great god Tangaroa, not so much in the sense that he was supposed to be incarnate in them, but rather indirectly. I have already referred, in discussing political areas and systems, to the great Pili, whose descent from Tangaroa (who, according to some accounts, was his father) seems to have been pretty generally recognized in Samoa. Now *pili* was the Samoan name of the lizard, and the god was generally supposed to be incarnate in this animal, so we may regard Pili as their great lizard god, just as Fe'e was their great cuttle-fish god, though other gods had the same incarnation. He was also supposed to be incarnate in the eel[7]. Von Bülow thinks it possible that the lizard was

[1] Turner, p. 37. [2] *Ibid.* p. 59. [3] *Ibid.* p. 72. [4] *Ibid.* p. 74.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 76. [6] *Ibid.* p. 72. [7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 438 *note* 5.

looked upon in Samoa as the embodiment of Tangaroa[1]; but he gives no sufficient grounds for this statement, and there is no reference anywhere to the lizard as an incarnation of Tangaroa. There were however one or two little matters which suggest a connection between Tangaroa and Pili and the lizard. In the first place, the Samoan Pili was primarily the god of net-fishing, and with the Maori Tangaroa was the god of the sea. There was a Samoan belief that Pili, the lizard, was the son of a man named Penga[2]; whilst in Tregear's dictionary it is said that in New Zealand Tangaroa's son Punga had two children, of whom one was the father of fish, and the other the father of reptiles. The similarity between the names Penga and Punga suggests a possible connection between the two beliefs. The feat of lifting the sky from the earth, commonly attributed to Maui, was in some islands credited to other gods. In Samoa the feat was, according to one legend, performed by Tii-tii[3], the son of Tangaroa, and according to another, by Tui-te'elangi, by order of Tangaroa. In one of the Ellice Islands (a group strongly Samoan in culture) it was believed that the task was accomplished by "the sea eel or serpent"[4]. It was said in Samoa that at first their lizards were all white, but that one of them offended the gods, and so they made this one black; and, since then all his progeny had been black. The white ones, but not the black ones, were allowed to visit the heavens[5]. The interest of this tale, for my present purpose, arises from a comparison of it with a Tongan legend of creation, of which the following is an epitome. Tangaroa, designing to people Tonga, sent his two sons with their wives to live there. One of these sons by his conduct caused the anger of the god, who therefore decreed that the good son and his family should have white skins, as their minds were pure, and might sail to a great land to the east, and live there, and return to Tonga as and when they liked; but he said that the other son and his people should be black, because their minds were bad, and should remain in Tonga, and should not go to the great land of the other son and his people[6]. If we recognize that the permission to visit the heavens, and the leave to go to a great land, evidently supposed to be beyond the horizon, would, according to Polynesian

[1] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXIV, p. 257.
[2] Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXV, p. 254.
[3] This is the same as Tiki Tiki whom I regard as one of the Maui family.
[4] Turner, p. 285. [5] Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXV, p. 258.
[6] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 112 *sq.*

legendary ideas, be very much the same thing, we may note the remarkable similarity between the two tales—one concerning a lizard who had offended the gods, and the other about a man who had offended his father, the god Tangaroa. I may point out that, if my belief that Tangaroa was a great god of the people whom I am calling "the Tangaroans," whose movements are recorded in the Rarotongan logs and legends, and who spread eastwards all over the Pacific, is correct, any special association of eels, snakes and lizards with him or his descendants may be a subject matter of some interest. This interest extends to cases of any other gods who should, I think, be associated by us with these Tangaroans. One of the Samoan deities of the Tangaroans was, according to my construction of the matter, Savea Si'uleo (the Tongan god of the dead, Hikuleo) who had in Samoa supplanted Fe'e whom I regard as the pre-Tangaroan god of the dead, in that it was he who ruled in Pulotu (paradise), whereas the dominions of Fe'e were only in the regions of hades, below the earth; and Savea Si'uleo was incarnate in the *murane*, a sea-eel or fish with an eel-like tail[1]. Saolevao was the brother of Savea Si'uleo, and one of his incarnations was an eel[2]. If these eels, snakes and lizards may be associated with what I regard as leading gods, with Tangaroa at their head, of the Samoan Tangaroans, it is interesting to notice that Ndengei, the leading god of the Fijian Olympus, had as his shrine the serpent, and that some traditions represented him with the head and part of the body of that reptile, the rest of his form being stone[3].

There were in Samoa some tales, to a large extent variations of the same story, relating to the violation with his tail by the god Pili, regarded as being an eel, of a girl; and, according to one version, this was followed by the death of the eel and the growth of a coconut, evidently supposed to have been the first coconut, out of the dead eel's head. Both these ideas of an eel copulating with a woman by its tail and of the growth of the coconut out of an eel's head are found in other islands, which gives the tales some interest. The Samoan versions are given by writers at some length, but I must here only refer shortly to the two salient features referred to above. Pratt tells a Manu'an story of a couple Penga and Penga, who lived in the district of Fitiuta

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 45, 105. Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 158. Stuebel, pp. 151, 153. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 644.
[2] Turner, p. 50.
[3] Williams and Calvert, vol. I, p. 217. Waterhouse, p. 356.

[this, as we have seen, was the traditional home of the original Tangaroa people of Manu'a], and they had three children, two sons called Pili-mo'e-langi (the lizard that sleeps in the heavens) and Pili-moe-vai (the lizard that sleeps in the fresh water), and a daughter Sina. The first Pili was taken up to the heavens, and the other was put in the water and remained there, a statement which Pratt connects with the belief as to the white and black lizards referred to above. It is in this story that it was said that Pili was black because he had offended the gods. Pili-moe-vai, in his lizard form, violated his sister Sina twice, first when she went to draw water, and afterwards when she went to bathe, and she had a son[1]. Krämer gives a Manu'an version of the tale, according to which Pili violated Sina with his tail when she came to the water to bathe[2], and a west Samoan story, according to which Pili the lizard, described as a great black animal, fell in love with his sister Sina, and wanted her to go with him, and followed her about from place to place, but there is no mention of his violating her[3].

Turning now to the coconut tales, Lesson tells a story of a girl Hina [that is Sina, misspelt for Samoa] in Savai'i, who had adopted a little eel which she kept and fed in a calabash, and which afterwards, when it was fully grown, forced the girl with its tail and then fled to Upolu. Hina pursued and found the eel, and was about to kill it; but the eel instructed her only to eat its body, and to plant its backbone and head, by which means she would get a tree, which would give her fruit good to eat and drink, and which would also provide her with oil to soften her skin, prepare her food, and give her light at night. Hina obeyed these instructions, and so came into existence the first coconut[4]. According to another version, the eel violated Sina with its caudal fin, and afterwards, instead of Sina pursuing the eel, it was the eel that pursued Sina; finally came his instructions for her to bury his head by a Tongan wall in Upolu, and the consequent growth out of it of coconuts[5]. Another version of the tale is given by Reinecke[6], and another by Turner[7]. I point out that the reference in Stuebel's account to the Tongan wall suggests a connection between the eel and the people whom I have called the Tangaroans—that

[1] Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxv, pp. 254–9. For other versions see pp. 259–61.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 438–43.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 26 *sq.*
[4] Lesson, *Poly.* vol. II, pp. 475 *sq.*
[5] Stuebel, pp. 67 *sq.*
[6] Reinecke, *Globus*, vol. LXXV, pp. 228 *sq.*
[7] Turner, pp. 243 *sq.*

is, according to my view of the matter, between the eel and the Tangaroa cult; and in connection with this matter, I may say in advance that evidence from other islands, pointing in the same direction, will appear in later pages. The main interest to me of these beliefs and stories about eels, snakes and lizards, is the way in which they seem to connect these animals with Tangaroa and other great western Polynesian gods whom I associate with the Tangaroans.

Pigeons

Pigeons were very important birds in Samoa. They were kept as pets, mainly, if not entirely, by chiefs and orators. Walpole saw a chief sitting with his elders, playing with pigeons attached by long lines to crooked sticks, and says these birds were constant pets, of which every man had to have several; their owners seldom walked about without carrying the stick on which the bird was perched[1]. Other writers refer to this custom, and apparently the pigeons kept as pets were usually, and perhaps always, birds that had been trained to act as decoys in pigeon catching[2]. These pigeons took an important part in the great annual pigeon catching festivals. There are several accounts of, and references to, these festivals; detailed accounts are given by Turner and Krämer, and, not so fully, by Churchward[3]. It is said that the sport was once practised all over Samoa, but had become limited to certain places[4]. The festival began in June[5], and lasted till October[6]. I do not propose to introduce here the accounts of the festival or of the detailed methods by which the pigeons were caught; but I may say in a few words that, according to the accounts referred to above, great preparations were made for it, and the whole district turned out to see it, though the catching of the pigeons was confined to the chiefs. Each of these had a trained decoy pigeon attached to a string about 30 feet long and a net fastened to a long bamboo cane. The tame pigeons were sent up, and as they circled round, they attracted wild pigeons, led by the belief

[1] Walpole, vol. II, p. 384.

[2] Stair, pp. 113, 190. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 334. Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 198 *note* 14. Pritchard, pp. 161 *sq.* *Rovings*, vol. II, p. 160. Foubonne, *A.P.F.* vol. XXVII, p. 115. Wilkes, vol. II, p. 112.

[3] Turner, p. 127 *sq.* Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, pp. 332 *sqq.* Churchward, pp. 139–41.

[4] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXII, p. 240. Cf. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 334.

[5] Turner, p. 127. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, pp. 333 *sq.*

[6] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 333.

that there was food about, and the chiefs caught the latter with their nets—a feat which required considerable dexterity. It is said that the festivals were occasions for great debauchery[1].

Up to this point I have disclosed nothing that suggests more concerning the pigeons than their use as pets and decoys in sport; but there is evidence to carry the matter further. Krämer says the *lupe* [this is the general name for a pigeon; but I shall refer to this matter presently] was a sacred bird, and was regarded with idolatrous awe by the people[2]. They were spoken to in "chiefs' language"—that is, with words of respect reserved for chiefs alone[3]. This statement refers to special language and words, differing from those in ordinary use, employed when speaking of or to chiefs; and Krämer gives some examples of its use with reference to the pigeons[4]. There was also a curious custom of designating them by different names according to the lunar period at which they were caught. Thus *lupe-o-atoa* was the term for a pigeon caught at the full of the moon; *lupe-a-fanoloa* for those caught when there was no moon; *lupe-o-maunu* for those caught at the wane of the moon; and *lupe-o-pupula* for those caught at the increase of the moon[5]. According to Churchward, history relates many instances of celebrated decoy-pigeons being the cause of great events in Samoa, both in war and friendly alliances, amongst which was a legend that the sovereignty was once given in perpetuity in return for a bird of high attainments[6]. Some of the great orator chiefs of Malie, in Tuamasanga, who granted the Malietoa title, bore names connected with these pigeons; one name meant "pigeon food"; another "perch of the pigeon"; another "the sinnet" or cord by which the pigeons were held; another "ready the handle" for the net. Also the name of the royal kava cup of the Malietoa had its origin in the arrival in days gone by of a distinguished chief for the purpose of catching pigeons[7].

There were matters connected with the pigeon catching also, which should be noticed. The sport was conducted under very strict regulations. All the chiefs engaged in it were for the time being sacred, and all of equal influence. When they ate

[1] Churchward, p. 141. Cf. St Johnston, p. 165.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 334.
[3] Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 198 *note* 14.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 334. Cf. Brown, p. 250; von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XII, p. 132.
[5] Stair, p. 191. Cf. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 334; vol. I, p. 217 *note* 6.
[6] Churchward, p. 140 (and see *errata* at beginning of that book).
[7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 238 *sq.*

together, the names of those contributing the respective portions were not called out, nor was it allowable to ask for their names [because, I presume, this would be inconsistent with the idea of equality][1]. At the end of each pigeon-catching day he who had caught the greatest number of pigeons was the hero of the day, and honoured by his friends with various kinds of food, with which he treated his less successful competitors[2]. Now the fêting of the most successful competitor each day is a matter which, taken alone, would not call for comment. But why were the competitors specially sacred during the period of months for which the sport lasted; and why did they during that period conceal—or rather pretend to conceal, for they would all be known to one other—their respective names and differences of rank, differences which on all other ceremonial occasions were so studiously recognized in Samoa? The temporary sanctity seems to point to an inherent sanctity in the pigeons, or to the sacred nature of the competition in which the chiefs were engaged, or to both; but none of these explanations would account for the recognition of temporary equality of the chiefs. A wildly speculative possibility occurs to me. May we not wonder whether this annual pigeon-catching performance perhaps had its origin in some idea similar to that of the annual egg-getting ceremony of Easter Island, to which I have referred in discussing "Political Areas," etc.? In Easter Island a number of chiefs engaged in a competitive search for a sacred egg; and in early days the winner was, according to my construction of the matter, the secular king of the island for the ensuing year. Though the truly competitive character of the proceedings seems to have died out, we can well believe that originally it had been present. The ceremony was a test intended to find out which of the candidates for the secular kingship of the island was the most fit physically. If the Samoan pigeon competition had a similar origin, we have an ample explanation of its sacred character, of the assumed equality of the competitors, and of the tribute (if I may so call it) offered to the winner, and which he, chief-like, afterwards redistributed. I cannot find a scrap of evidence that any such method of election had ever prevailed in Samoa; and, as I have already admitted, my suggested explanation is extremely speculative, and it could not for a moment be actually adopted without further evidence, which is not, and

[1] Brown, *A.A.A.S.* vol. XIV, p. 416. [2] Turner, p. 127.

probably never will be forthcoming. If the Samoan ceremony had some such origin, we should be justified in believing that the pigeon or some species of pigeon had in ancient days been extremely sacred.

The term *lupe* was commonly used as a generic one for any sort of pigeon[1]; but writers show that there were in Samoa a number of different species of pigeons, having different Samoan names, and some of which they identify by their scientific names[2]. Pritchard treats the term *lupe* as representing one species of pigeon, and says it was the species that was trained for decoying wild pigeons[3]. Krämer identifies the *lupe* of Samoa with the fruit pigeon (*Globicera carpophaga*)[4]. According to him, it was the *lupe* that was regarded as sacred and with idolatrous awe, and therefore was not caught for food; and it was the *lupe* that was trained to decoy, spoken of in chiefs' language, and distinguished by names depending upon the lunar period in which it was caught; he also refers to the large number of words used with reference to this pigeon and the catching of it[5]. Krämer says that the *lupe* appears frequently in traditions; and he specially refers to one of these in which Sina is said to have put a stone on a pigeon's nose. It was said that this was the reason for the swelling on the nose of the pigeon, and Krämer points out the consistency of this with his identification of the pigeon referred to in the legend with the *Globicera*[6]. Krämer describes the method, totally different from that given above, of net-trapping another sort of pigeon, the *manutangi* (*Ptilopus fasciatus*)[7], which emphasizes the distinction; Stair speaks of pigeons being caught with birdlime, or shot with arrows[8], and Stuebel refers to bows and arrows as being used for dove hunting[9], which I imagine would not be the method adopted with the sacred *lupe*.

The *lupe*, identified by Krämer with the fruit pigeon (*Globicera carpophaga*) was then the species which, according to both Pritchard and Krämer, was used at these annual festivals as decoys, and according to Krämer, was the subject of these special ideas of sanctity and other marks of respect and im-

[1] Stair, p. 190. Pratt.
[2] Stair, pp. 190 *sqq*. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, pp. 160, 331 *sq*., 425. Stuebel, p. 126. Stair, *N.Z.I.* vol. XXX, p. 294.
[3] Pritchard, p. 163.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 425.
[5] *Ibid*. p. 334.
[6] *Ibid*. vol. I, p. 125; vol. II, p. 425.
[7] *Ibid*. vol. II, pp. 331 *sq*.
[8] Stair, *N.Z.I.* vol. XXX, p. 301.
[9] Stuebel, p. 126.

portance. Krämer also says that this was the species which was caught with nets at these festivals[1]. We must therefore associate only this sacred species with the whole of the proceedings of the festivals, which had originally been held in Samoa generally, though in later years they had only been continued in certain districts. This species must then, unless its selection for these purposes was a modern development, which is not suggested, have had a widespread sanctity in Samoa; but there is no suggestion that it was therefore worshipped as a god. On the other hand, the pigeon appears in several pages of Turner's lists of incarnate gods of particular families or villages; and these may have been of various species, and not been confined to or have included the specially sacred *lupe*, even if his informers spoke of them to him by the general generic term *lupe*.

Incarnation in man

The subject of human incarnation or of entry of gods into human beings is one the evidence as to which must be received with caution in a discussion of totemism, as we might connect with the latter evidence which perhaps merely related to occasional or permanent inspiration[2]. I draw attention, however, separately to examples given by Turner, which may or may not point to actual incarnation. The great god Moso had a number of animal and other incarnations; but he was also identified with the *tuiatua*, whose form he took in the daytime, though at night he was away among the gods. In one family the god was incarnate in a man; he used to rob the plantations, but when chased, he suddenly disappeared[3]. Sama (yellow) was incarnate in a man; he was a cannibal god, who had human flesh laid before him whenever he chose to call for it[4]. Taisumalie was a goddess in Upolu of alleged human origin, who "spoke through" one of the heads of her family. This deity, having other incarnations, was also incarnate in a man in parts of Savai'i, "and spoke through him"; before going out to fight her worshippers were sprinkled and purified, apparently by her. Elsewhere the god was incarnate in a member of the family, who was therefore consulted on all matters of im-

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 332.

[2] A somewhat similar uncertainty might arise as regards animal incarnations; but not to the same extent, nor in exactly the same way.

[3] Turner, pp. 36 *sq.*

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 48 *sq.*

portance. In another place he was incarnate in an old man who acted as the doctor of the family and their neighbours. The god also had several animal incarnations[1]. Tui-fiti (king of Fiji) was a Savai'ian god who was supposed to be incarnate in a man, who walked about and could be seen by strangers, but was invisible to the people of the place[2]. Apelesa was in one family incarnate in the turtle. In another he "spoke at times" through an old man. In another he had a female priestess[3]. Satia had in one place a cannibal priest, who claimed to be the god himself and also a doctor; in another place he was supposed to have power to become incarnate in either a man or a woman. If he wished to go to a particular woman he became a man; and if he desired a man he changed into a woman[4].

Tree and plant totems

Almost any object may, I imagine, be a totem, and among the possible objects must be included trees and plants. De Marzan, in an account of totemism in parts of Fiji, divides totems into what he calls the principal or original totems and the secondary totems, and says that the principal totem was double, including a tree and an animal, and he thinks it went with the origin of the tribe. He associates the system, so far as the tree is concerned, with a tree grown in the original home of the people whose totem it was. The secondary totems appear to have been certain species of plants used for food—a special yam, taro, or banana, and de Marzan discussed the origin of these[5]. Rougier says that in Fiji each family had three totems, an animal, a tree, and a vegetable[6]. Now, though in Polynesia trees and plants were included with animals and other objects among the things in which gods might be incarnate or immanent, I find no evidence pointing to a system of having three totemic objects, of which one was a tree, another an animal, and the third a vegetable, or a dual system of trees and animals, but there is some evidence of a Polynesian custom of planting trees in or near *marae*, and a little evidence of a practice of planting a single specific tree on arrival at a new home; and as it was also customary to construct a *marae*, it seems probable that the tree would be planted in or near the *marae*. We may almost assume that whatever sanctity that tree

[1] Turner, pp. 56–9. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 62 *sq.* [3] *Ibid.* pp. 67 *sq.* [4] *Ibid.* p. 73.
[5] De Marzan, *Anthrop.* vol. II, pp. 400–5.
[6] Rougier, *Anthrop.* vol. II, p. 998.

possessed or acquired would be recognized by offshoot families, living elsewhere, whose ancestry was associated with that *marae*, and, if so, we find a condition which might be comparable with de Marzan's statement as to a tree in an original home. In considering this matter, however, we are led into the general subject of sanctity of trees, which, whilst it may in some cases have had its origin in totemism, may in others have been connected with a general cult of tree worship. I hope to deal with the latter question at an early date, and may be able to look at the evidence in the light of a possible connection with totemism also; but it is obvious that I cannot discuss this wider subject here. I propose therefore to content myself for the present with mere references to beliefs and practices, relating to trees and plants, some of which may point to immanence in them of gods, whilst others do not appear to do so; and I shall adopt the same plan for other parts of Polynesia.

I have already quoted Turner's statements as to the god Iulautalo, to whom the ends of leaves and other things were sacred, and the god Tuiali'i, seen in the ends of banana leaves; but I will now refer to a few other examples given by him. The war god Ngae-fefe (breathless fear) was "seen in" a coconut-leaf basket; therefore no one would step over such a basket lest the god might be in it; and, in going to fight, the discovery of such a basket was a good or bad omen, according to its condition and position. The alleged origin of this belief was a legend as to a battle between the gods of Samoa and Tonga, in which Ngae-fefe had hidden in a coconut-leaf basket, and so escaped from the enemy[1]. The great war goddess Nafanua was specially associated with coconut leaflets, and the use of these leaflets as taboo marks on trees was attributed to her instructions. The history of this is a battle, in which, when leading her people to victory, she had concealed her sex by covering her breasts with coconut leaves, which also was the distinguishing mark or pass word of her troops, who wore the leaflets bound round the waist[2]. We know a good deal about Nafanua; but I have never seen any suggestion that she was immanent in coconut leaflets, except perhaps so far as the gods generally were associated with these sacred objects. I am not sure whether the use of the leaflets as a badge must be taken as referring to the particular fighting referred to in the legend, or to the subsequent practices of the goddess's worshippers.

[1] Turner, p. 32.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 38 *sq.*

The emblem of the war god Pava was a taro leaf, and all his adherents in going to battle were known by their wearing of taro leaf caps. This association is attributed to an occasion on which Tangaroa had killed Pava's child, but brought it to life again; but Pava in his anger plucked a taro leaf, stepped on it, and went off to Fiji[1]. Taisumalie had several incarnations, both animal and human; but another object that represented her was a shrub (*Ascarina lanceolata*), and the leaf of the *ti* (*Dracaena terminalis*) was carried as a banner wherever the troops went[2]. The alleged origin of her connection with these trees is not stated. The god Tuifiti (king of Fiji) appeared in human form; but his abode was a grove of large *ifilele* (*Afzelia bijuga*) trees, which none dared to cut, and as to which there was a magical tale of blood having flowed from it when someone attempted to cut it[3]. Vave had several animal incarnations; he was supposed to live in an old tree, which was a place of refuge for criminals. This tree had, it was said, been planted on the site of the house of an old king of Atua out of respect for his memory, and there is nothing to show how the god Vave became associated with it[4]. Limulimuta (sea-weed) was a protecting object to its worshippers who, when they went to fight at sea, took some sea-weed with them. If in pursuit of a canoe, they threw out some of it, to hinder the progress of the enemy, and if the latter tried to pick up any of the deified sea-weed it immediately sank, but rose again and floated on the surface if one of its friends paddled up to the spot[5]. Moso'oi was the name of a tree (*conanga oderata*) with very fragrant flowers, and in one place it was believed to be the habitat of a household god, to whom anything sweet-scented was presented, and whose presence was called for at family gatherings[6]. Pua was the name of a large tree (*Hernandia peltata*) in which a family god of the same name, and supposed to be incarnate in the octopus and crab, was believed to dwell; no one dared to pluck a leaf or break a branch of this tree[7].

Stones

Turner includes in his lists of gods some examples of deities identified with stones. Some of these stones seem, if Turner has expressed the matter correctly, to have been regarded as the actual gods themselves, and they or some of them may

[1] Turner, pp. 42 *sq.* [2] *Ibid.* pp. 56–9. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 62 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 64 *sqq.* [5] *Ibid.* p. 71. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.* p. 72.

have been what I may call totem gods. We are told of the matters with which these gods were believed to be concerned, and of the performances of the people with reference to the stones, though of course no question of food taboo or kind treatment of the visible god could arise. The question of sacred stones is, however, one which cannot, I think, be regarded merely in connection with that of totemism, and I hope to deal with it for Polynesia generally at a later date.

Persons free from food taboo

Certain kinds of fish were in Samoa considered sacred to the *tupu* (chief of highest rank) of the leading settlements [what I have called village districts] and various kinds of food were taken to the king[1]. In one family the god Moso was incarnate in the turtle and mullet; he was prayed to before the evening meal and his incarnations might be eaten by the priest, but by no one else[2]. According to Krämer, there were certain animals of which the best portions were due by agreement to the superhuman great chiefs; these were the turtle, the shark, the large *ulua* fish, and the river eel. These were therefore called *i'a sa* or *tolo pa'ia* (sacred)[3]. In an account of the cooking of a turtle he says that the head [the sacred part] of the cooked turtle was brought as the king's part; the front limbs (? *Vorderflossen*) were the parts for the orators; the hind limbs (*Hinterflossen*) were those for the *tamafafine*; the young people were content with the back of the animal—that is, the part that sticks to the shell[4].

In an account of the cooking of a *tuna* (river eel) he says that the tail was given to the king; but all the other people might eat the rest of the fish[5]. Again, in an account of the baking of a pig, he says that the heart and liver were given to the chiefs, the head was cut off, and the rest was divided into three parts—the back, which went to the highest; the hindquarters, which went to the orator chiefs; the ribs, which went to the brother chiefs—the rest received the head and limbs[6]. The heart of a pig was the embodiment of one of the family gods[7]; but I cannot show a connection between this and Krämer's statement.

[1] Stair, p. 82.
[2] Turner, p. 38.
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 161.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 164 *and note* 3.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 165.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 162 *and note* 6. Cf. p. 164.
[7] Turner, p. 72.

I have already referred to the description by Thilenius, quoted by Krämer, of the ceremonies on the catching of a shark, which was taboo as food to the people but which, having been first taken to the chief, was evidently eaten by the others or some of them, and I have also quoted Krämer's statement as to bringing to the king of tribute, which evidently included the sacred lamprey, with propitiatory head beating; I think we must believe that the king partook of this forbidden food.

According to von Bülow, if the owner of a fishing ground caught a fish of one of certain large kinds (including the turtle —regarded as a fish) he had to hand it over to the assembly of the place, or in some districts to certain chiefs, or even to certain orators[1]. Stevenson tells of an occasion of the distribution of presents at a *fono*, when a turtle was given to the king[2]. Stuebel says that on a distribution of food the chief received the part of the animal called *tuala*[3]; his explanation of this term is not very clear, but according to Pratt's dictionary it meant the prime portion from the back of a pig. Stuebel also tells of the delinquencies of a Samoan family so recently as 1890, the great count in the indictment against them being that they had killed and distributed the body of a shark, instead of bringing it to the chief; their punishment was the destruction of most of their property[4].

There is a case of a newly-converted family who were proposing to prove their sincerity by eating a fowl, their incarnate household god, and yet felt qualms of anxiety lest it should revenge itself by growing in their stomachs; they overcame the difficulty by removing the feathers, and blowing them away as an offering to the god, and they ate the body[5].

It may be that, in some of the cases referred to above, the selection of the portions to be given to the different people was based upon gastronomic, rather than supernatural considerations; but I have included them with the others. The idea involved in the last case seems to have been that the anger of the god at the eating of his incarnation might be appeased by first offering him some of it.

[1] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXII, p. 319. What he calls orators might be orator chiefs.

[2] Stevenson, *V. Letters*, p. 185.

[3] Stuebel, p. 91.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 156 *sq.*

[5] Brown, pp. 279 *sq.* I have already referred to what is evidently another version of this tale.

Beliefs as to descent from the totem

An idea often associated with totemism is that the clan was descended from its totem, or (according to Frazer) that a common ancestress of the clan had given birth to an animal of the totem species[1]. The consideration of evidence touching the question of beliefs as to descent from the totem involves us, not only in that of the possibility that incarnate gods or some of them, from whom people claimed descent, had in fact been actual totems, but in the further question of a possible connection of the origin of the Polynesian system of incarnate gods with the worship of the dead, with which I am not now dealing. I have, however, decided, as regards Samoa and all the other islands and groups, to record beliefs as to births from actual animals or births given by women to animals.

The following Samoan story discloses a belief that an ancestress, or rather, I should say, a woman of bygone days, had given birth to an animal of the totem species. It is said that Ulavai, a household god of a family in Aana, was incarnate in the crayfish. According to the tale, a woman had, through bathing, brought on a premature birth; she reported this to the people, who thereupon went off in search of the child; they could see nothing, however, but an unusual number of crayfishes; so they assumed that the infant had been changed into these. Therefore they adopted the crayfish as the incarnation of a new household god; gave it food, and offered prayers before it for family prosperity[2]. I admit that this example is not exactly in accord with the fundamental idea above referred to, as the woman is not said to have been a common ancestress, and the belief seems to have been that the infant had been born human, and had afterwards been changed into crayfish; but the underlying idea is similar. There is another story, referred to in a previous page, of Tingilau's paternal aunt giving birth to two turtles, which were apparently the original source of food supply of these animals in Aana. There is no suggestion that the woman was a clan ancestress or that the turtle was specially sacred with the Tingilau people, beyond the fact of his association with the creatures of the sea; but turtles seem to have been important in Samoa.

[1] Frazer, *T. & E.* vol. 1, pp. 5–8.
[2] Turner, p. 77.

Offerings to the totem

If the worshippers of gods associated with animals and other objects thought the gods actually entered these objects, and still more if they believed the animals and other objects were actually the gods themselves in an incarnate or visible form, we should expect to find a good deal of information about offerings to the gods being presented to the objects themselves. It is curious therefore that I have only been able to find one example of this. The example refers to the god Fanonga, incarnate in an owl; in time of war offerings of food were presented to a pet owl kept for the purpose, and it was apparently after receiving the food that the owl by its flight gave signs to its worshippers; so also at the beginning of the annual fishing festivals, the chiefs and people of the village assembled round the opening of the first oven, and gave the first fish to the god, by which, I gather from the context, is meant the pet owl[1]. On the other hand, Turner gives several examples of the making of offerings to sacred stones connected with gods[2]. One of these examples is suggestive; it is stated that when the food placed on a pair of sacred stones called Fonge and Toafa was eaten at night by dogs and rats, it was supposed that the god chose to become incarnate for the time being in the form of such living creatures[3]. It would seem from this that the people did not imagine that the stones themselves, or the gods, whilst immanent in the stones, partook of the food.

Offences against the totem

There were ways, other than killing and eating, in which dire offence might be given to these incarnate Samoan gods, and which had to be carefully avoided. The cuttle-fish god, for example, would seem to have been somewhat sensitive; for we are told that among its Samoan devotees all unsightly burdens—such as a log of firewood on the shoulder—were forbidden, lest they should be regarded by the god as a mockery of its tentacula[4]. A Samoan family had for gods a pair of twins, whose bodies were united, back to back. Hence anything double—such as a double yam, or two bananas adhering to each other—must not be used under penalty of death; it was even forbidden for any members of the family to sit back

[1] Turner, pp. 25 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 25, 36, 45 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 25.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 30.

to back, lest it should be considered mockery of and insult to the gods, and so incur their displeasure[1]. So, a Samoan god "The red liver," whose incarnation—a pigeon—does not appear necessarily to have been closely associated with his name, might not, apparently, be offended by the use of anything red; and the reddish-seared bread fruit leaves, commonly used as plates, were never used by the family who worshipped this god, as such disrespect would have been punished by a seizure with rheumatic swellings, or an eruption all over the body, resembling chicken-pox[2]. It is just possible that we have here something in the nature of a colour totem, but red was a sacred colour in Polynesia, independently, I think, of totemism. Again, another Samoan god, incarnate in a bird, was apparently a gourmand who feasted on eyes. Therefore the eyes of fish were never eaten by the family who worshipped him[3]. There was also a Samoan family god, incarnate in a butterfly, who had three mouths. This was clearly a deformity which should not be called to mind; so his worshippers, whenever they drank from a coconut-shell water cup, took care that only one or two of its eyes were perforated; for the opening of all three eyes would have been a mockery, and would have brought down the wrath of the god[4].

Propitiation of the totem

If any member of a family had eaten of the *aitu* (edible animal) of the family, he was taken to the oven, and baked symbolically (the oven being cold) to propitiate the god[5]. Fe'e [or perhaps some other cuttle-fish god called Fe'e?] was in one place worshipped as a household god; and if any visitor had caught and cooked a cuttle-fish, or any member of the family had been present where it had been eaten, the god had to be propitiated by prayer and mock human sacrifice. A member of the family lay down in a cold oven, and was covered with leaves, as in the process of baking, and thus became a human sacrifice offered to avert the wrath of the god. In the meantime the whole family appealed to him for forgiveness. In default of this offering and appeal some members of the family would suffer and die from internal growth of the cuttle-fish[6]. Moso, as a family god, was incarnate

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 70.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 74. I have referred to this in a previous page in connection with split totems.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 76.
[5] Stuebel, p. 75.
[6] Turner, pp. 31 *sq.*

in a sting-ray; and the catching of one of these fish by a visitor had to be recompensed by a similar mock sacrifice of a child of the family; whilst any member of the family who had tasted the fish had to stay the wrath of the god by drinking a cupful of rancid oil dregs[1]. So, in another village, whose god was incarnate in the sea-eel, two boys, who had eaten the eel, had to submit to be subjected to a similar mock sacrifice; and even then it was expected that they would both die[2]. This same god was also a family god, incarnate for one family in a cuttle-fish, for another in a mullet, and for another in a turtle. The cooking by any of these families of their own deified incarnation in the family oven was a dire disaster, which could only be cured by a mock offering of a member of the family, who underwent a process of mock cooking. It was death to the family if the oven were used without this previous ceremony[3].

Restraint of the totem

The people of a clan would sometimes, according to Frazer, put pressure upon a totem animal whose behaviour did not please them[4]; and Samoa provides a narrative, the idea of which seems to approach closely to this—though it does not refer to an animal. A god, who took care of the plantations, guarded them by the instrumentality of the god thunder. Thunder, however, misbehaved himself in striking the house of Fala and Paongo [they attributed the injury of a lightning flash to the thunder]. So the family rose up, caught him, tied him up with pandanus leaves, and frightened him by poking him with firebrands. He cried out in distress "Oh! Fala, I'm burning; Oh! Paongo, I wish to live!" So they decided to spare him, and make a god of him to keep the rats away from their food; but they also made a hieroglyphic scare for him of a basket filled with pandanus leaves, and charred firebrands, which they hung up among the trees, so that he might know what to expect if he destroyed a house again[5].

Help of the totem

As regards the friendly and helpful attitude of a sacred animal to its friends, as many Polynesian gods, even some who, speaking generally, were malignant, were commonly credited with affording support and help to their faithful worshippers,

[1] Turner, p. 38. Cf. p. 72. [2] *Ibid.* p. 58. [3] *Ibid.* p. 59.
[4] Frazer, *T. & E.* vol. 1, p. 23. [5] Turner, pp. 33 *sq.*

it would be futile to schedule all the good deeds of the incarnate gods as evidence of totemic beneficence. I think, however, that I may draw attention to acts of benevolence actually performed by the incarnation, or object in which the god was immanent, as some, at all events, of these might well have been survivals of totemic ideas.

Turner gives numerous examples of the helpful guidance, prior to, and still more after the commencement of, war, which the people received from the animal incarnations of their gods, or the objects in which they were believed to be immanent or which were specially associated with them. In most cases the omens for good or evil, upon which the worshippers relied, when starting for battle, were the movements of birds which they met on their way; in some cases they were the movements of fishes; in a few cases they were the movements of a lizard; in one case they were guided by the movements of a cloud in which the god was supposed to be; one god was associated with the rainbow, and the message to the troops conveyed by it was one of encouragement or warning according to its position; in another case the matter to be observed was not merely the position of the rainbow, but its clearness or otherwise; one group of people saw its god in the lightning and was guided in deciding upon advance or retreat by the position or change of position of its flashes; two examples are given of gods incarnate in the rail bird, but the characters of the omens were different, in one case a reddish and glossy appearance of the bird being a favourable omen in war, and a dark and dingy look a warning, whilst all the other god did was to chatter or "scold," as they called it, when an attack was imminent, so that its worshippers could send their women and children away to a place of safety and prepare for the assault; a god incarnate in a dog encouraged his subjects by wagging his tail, barking and dashing ahead, but warned them by howling or retreating; two examples are given of gods immanent in the conch shell; in one case the shell, hung in the house of the priest, murmured or cried when war was proposed, and was then watched, a clear white appearance being a good omen and a dark and dingy look a bad one; in the other case the shell was blown by the priest, and a clear and euphonic sound was a good sign, and a rough and hollow sound a bad one; one god was seen in a coconut-leaf basket, and if the advancing troops found such a basket in their march, the omen was good or bad according to the position of the

basket; in one district a number of Fijian stones were kept in a temple and worshipped in time of war; they were built up in the form of a wall, and their fall westward or eastward was a sign, the former of victory and the latter of defeat; in another district two whale's teeth were worshipped, and kept in a cave and, when the people went to fight, a priest remained behind to pray for success and report the position of the teeth, a good omen being recognized if they lay east and west, and a bad one if they turned over and lay north and south; one god was present in a bundle of sharks' teeth, wrapped up in a piece of native cloth, and was consulted before going into battle; if the bundle felt heavy, the omen was bad, but, if light, it was good[1]. Examples of divination in war by watching the movements of incarnate gods are also given by other writers[2]. Rivers was told that in the old war times the *atua*, whether octopus, owl or shell used to call out, so that all the people could hear, when there was going to be a fight[3].

The animals or objects with which the gods were associated, seem to have shown their kindness to their worshippers in ways other than encouraging or warning them in time of war, or at all events the objects with which they were associated took a prominent part in the matter. We have already seen how the seaweed helped its worshippers in harassing the enemy, and that the god Iulautalo required its worshippers to fan a sick patient with the *ends* of coconut leaflets, though for general purposes the use of the ends of things was forbidden. There was a village god, Nonia, incarnate in the cockle, to whom prayers, accompanied by feasting, were offered—usually in May—for the removal of coughs and other ailments; and on the days of worship the people went about with bundles of cockles, and it was through these that they prayed to Nonia[4]. Other objects which helped the people, or were used for obtaining the help were, according to Turner, stones, but I am not dealing with that subject here. Rivers was told that it had been believed that those who had the shark for an *atua* were in no danger of being troubled by a shark when they went into the sea[5], which at least indicated beliefs as to the friendly attitude of the god. A legendary act of helpfulness may be

[1] Turner, chap. IV.

[2] Pritchard, p. 111. Wilkes, vol. II, p. 132. Stuebel, p. 150. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 151, 229. Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 368.

[3] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 368.

[4] Turner, pp. 40 *sq.*

[5] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 368.

seen in the account, given in a previous chapter, of the driving out of the Tongans from Samoa, when an impossible task, imposed by the *tuitonga* on his opponents, of removing a great stone was accomplished with the help of eels, or, according to one account, an octopus, and the courage and discomfiture which this success gave to the Samoans and Tongans respectively in the subsequent fighting. Turner refers to four gods who showed their beneficence on the appearance of visitors by a miraculous addition to the number of pigs provided by their hosts for their entertainment. In three cases I cannot associate the act with the incarnation[1]; but in one case, where the incarnation was a man, he was actually present, and visible to the guests, though invisible to the hosts, and it was to him that the increase by one, two or three, of the number of pigs was attributed[2].

Appearance of the totem before death

Samoa provides one or two examples of the idea, referred to by Frazer, that when a man is dying, his totem appears in or about the house for the purpose of fetching him away[3]. A household god, Vave, was incarnate in an eel; and if any member of the family was sick, Vave was prayed to in the evening. Next morning a search was made among the bundles of mats and other property in the house; and if an eel was found among them, it was a sign of death; if not the man would recover[4]. Again, another Samoan household god was incarnate in the land crab; and the discovery of one of these crabs in the house was a sign that the head of the house was about to die[5]. The action of the totem in indicating death or recovery is also seen in the case of a centipede god which lived in a tree near the house of his worshippers. If one of the family was ill, he went out with a fine mat, spread it out under the tree, and awaited the descent of the centipede. If it came down and crawled under the mat, it was a sign that the sick person was to be covered with mats and buried; whilst, if it crawled on the top of the mat, it foretold recovery[6]. This is not, however, quite the same as the foretelling by the totem of death, merely by its appearance. I find in Pratt's dictionary the words *to'iaileulia* and *to'iailesu* given as meaning "to have a presage of death, as by a lizard falling on a person."

[1] Turner, pp. 33, 50, 62. [2] *Ibid.* p. 63. [3] Frazer, *T. & E.* vol. I, p. 23.
[4] Turner, p. 66. [5] *Ibid.* p. 72. [6] *Ibid.* p. 69.

CHAPTER XXI

TOTEMISM (Continued)

TONGA

IN Tonga each family had connected with it a sacred object called an *Otua* (god). Some of these were animals such as the octopus, flying fox and pigeon, whilst others were stones; but Rivers, by whom this information was obtained, says no example was known of a family having a plant as an *otua*. When the *otua* was an animal there was a belief in descent from it, and it was not eaten. Rivers is unable to define the social groups with which the *otua* were connected, but says the "family" certainly referred to more than family in the strict sense[1]. Mariner says that the gods were believed to enter sometimes into the bodies of lizards, porpoises and a species of water-snake and that these animals were therefore much respected[2]; and, though he refers, apparently, to temporary entry, and may have been, in part at all events, correct in this, he possibly did not distinguish in his mind between this and incarnation. Later on he says this power was confined to the original gods, and was not possessed by the souls of chiefs[3]. According to Bastian, every clan (*fahinga*) possessed a protecting god in the sea, such as the shark, turtle, octopus, etc. As well as the gods (*otua*) of the sky, each clan had its protector god. Some gods had their fixed seats in whales' teeth, bundles of cloth, etc., whilst others came when called, entering into the priest. The guardian god of the Haavera family (*Stamm*) was symbolized by a folded mat, with red feathers, as a shrine[4]. I have already referred to the goddess Halaingaluafi, represented by a whale's tooth necklace and the goddess Finau-tau-iku, represented by cloth and red feathers. Pritchard includes Tonga with Samoa in his statement that household or family gods were said to dwell in animals or things, or certain parts of things, these animals and things being strictly sacred to the family, and in his examples of the left wing of a pigeon, and fruit[5]; so apparently Tonga provides examples of split, and

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 363 *sq.*
[2] Mariner, vol. II, p. 100.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 124.
[4] Bastian, *I.O.* pp. 33 *sq.*
[5] Pritchard, pp. 401 *sq.*

perhaps cross totems. Forster says the Tongans did not seem to have, as the Tahitians had, any particular veneration for birds[1]. This statement is somewhat general, and must be received with caution; but the comparison with Tahiti may be due to the veneration held in Tahiti for certain birds, which appears, in some cases at all events, to have been associated with their habit of frequenting the *marae* groves. Sarah Farmer says that spirits revisited the earth as birds, fish, etc., and for this reason the tropic bird, kingfisher, sea-gull, sea-eel, shark and whale were sacred. The people would offer scented oil or kava to a whale if they passed it in sailing. The cuttle-fish and lizard were gods to some people, and others made offerings to trees. None of the creatures mentioned above were ever killed[2].

The *Duff* missionaries were forbidden to hunt water-snakes, and, indeed, were hardly allowed to touch them, as they were said to be *agees* [*eiki* or chiefs, called by Mariner *egi*][3]; and Tasman saw a man take up a water-snake near his boat, place it respectfully on his head [a great mark of respect] and then put it back in the water[4]. Williams, when in an uninhabited island near Tongatabu, trod on a nest of sea-snakes, and by his instructions a converted native killed the largest as a specimen; but when they sailed to another island, and fishermen there saw the snake, they seized their clubs, and rushed on the converted natives, saying "You have killed our god," and only desisted when the snake was carried back to the boat[5]. Ellis, of Cook's party, speaking of certain lizards, says the people never destroyed them, but suffered them to run about unmolested; and when the English killed them great disapprobation was always expressed[6]. I may say that the beliefs as to Hikuleo, the Tongan god of the dead, attributed to him the possession of a very long tail, a point to which I draw attention as bearing upon my suggestion that Tangaroa, and the other great gods of the Tangaroans, were specially associated with eels, lizards and snakes, Hikuleo, having been, as I have suggested, a god of the Tangaroans.

Wilkes speaks of "sacred pigeons," of which one was shot by a missionary; and adds that, if a native had done this, he would have been clubbed[7]; and Sarah Farmer says that a piece of land in Tongatabu was left uncultivated for the sake of the

[1] Forster, *Voy.* vol. I, p. 455.
[2] S. Farmer, p. 127.
[3] Wilson, p. 233.
[4] Burney, vol. III, p. 88.
[5] Williams, pp. 545 *sq.*
[6] Ellis (Cook), vol. I, p. 90.
[7] Wilkes, vol. III, p. 11.

wild pigeons, which were taboo, and left undisturbed[1]. In Tonga, as in Samoa, a pigeon was often kept by the higher classes as a pet, being attached to sticks in the houses[2]; and in an important and apparently sacred ceremony, witnessed by Cook, relating to the admission (Cook calls it initiation) of the son of the *tuitonga* to certain privileges, including that of eating for the first time with his father, there was in the rear of a solemn procession of about two hundred and fifty men, a man who walked alone, carrying a living pigeon on a perch[3]; from which I gather that the pigeon was regarded as being of some importance. In discussing the pigeons of Samoa, I have referred to what was evidently an annual, and apparently ceremonial, catching by chiefs of a very sacred species of pigeon, by means of decoy pigeons of the same species and nets attached to long bamboo canes; and have also referred to what appear to have been ordinary, unceremonial, methods of hunting or trapping pigeons. Now Mariner describes a method of catching pigeons in Tonga which is in essentials strikingly similar to the mode of catching the sacred pigeons in Samoa; he says nothing about this Tongan pigeon-catching being an annual proceeding or having any ceremonial importance, so we can assume nothing as to this, but it is possible that there was something of the sort; and as to this I may say that he calls the method *jia lube* (catching pigeons with a net) and says that it was not then a very usual sport, though it had been so formerly[4], which I may compare with the statement that the special pigeon-catching in Samoa had once been practised all over, but had survived only in certain places.

We have seen that, according to Bastian, the turtle was included among the incarnate gods, and it is stated that its use as a food was, like that of so many other incarnations, subject to a taboo, the breaking of which was believed to give rise to enlarged livers, or some other visceral complaint[5]. Moreover tradition credited it with divine rank. According to the legend, some time after Tonga was inhabited by man, the two daughters of a god Langi took advantage of their father's absence at a conference of the gods at Bulotu, and in disobedience of his orders to the contrary, descended to Tonga. Their great beauty

[1] S. Farmer, pp. 138 *sq.* [2] Ellis (Cook), vol. I, p. 96.
[3] Cook, vol. V, p. 364. Cf. Ellis (Cook), vol. I, p. 79.
[4] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 222 *sq.* According to Baker's dictionary *jia* means a net, and *lube* is a wild pigeon.
[5] Mariner, vol. II, p. 120. Cf. Williams, p. 318.

attracted the young chiefs of Tonga, jealousy and quarrelling ensued, and this finally ended in war. Langi, blamed by the other gods for what had occurred, came down to Tonga and found one of his daughters dead, and, as she had eaten mortal food, deprived of her immortality. Enraged at this, he seized the other daughter by the hair, severed her head from her body, and cast the head into the sea; the head in a short time turned into a turtle, and was the origin of turtles all over the world[1]. Mariner, referring to the internal troubles which would follow the eating of turtles, adds that the people did not think this would be so with chiefs "as they approached so near in rank and character to the gods themselves"[2]; and again says certain kinds of food, such as turtle and a species of fish, were taboo, and might not be eaten unless a small portion was first given to the gods[3]. West refers to a custom of giving to chiefs portions of any turtle that might be caught, and says the same practice prevailed as regarded bonito, albicore and other rarer fish[4]; and there is a statement that none but a great chief or friend of the gods might eat turtle[5].

Flying foxes were also taboo and never shot[6]; and perhaps West is speaking of these same animals, when he says that "bats" which frequented the sacred *toa* trees near burial grounds, were on certain occasions taboo; anyone killing these would himself be killed; and a missionary who shot one, when one of the chiefs was lying dangerously ill, only escaped with his life through the intervention of a chief of higher rank[7]. The flying fox is one of the animals referred to by Rivers (see above), and I do not doubt the information given to him that they were regarded as incarnate gods. I must point out, however, that sanctity attributed to such things as bats and birds that frequented the groves surrounding *marae* and burying places does not, in itself, necessarily point to totemism, or even incarnation; it might be based on the sanctity of their place of resort, and perhaps, as in Tahiti, on what appears to have been the belief that the gods entered them temporarily, for the purpose of communicating with men.

The island of Tofua was the property of the *tuitonga*, and so was sacred; it was also supposed to be the home of the sea gods, and for this reason the people firmly believed that no

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 117–20.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 120.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 186 *sq.*
[4] West, p. 122.
[5] *A.P.F.* vol. II, p. 11.
[6] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 91.
[7] West, pp. 125 *sq.* Cf. Baessler, *S.B.* p. 318.

sharks would hurt a man swimming near its coast[1]. On the other hand, when King George, converted to Christianity, abandoned the old gods, he was told by one of the chief priests that, if he went to sea, the sharks would eat him[2]. It is not stated that the sea gods were actually incarnate in the sharks, which may only have been under their control. The island of Niuatobutabu was governed by an hereditary chief called Maafu, and the god of his family was a gigantic shark called Sekatoa. This god could be called by any member of the family, but more especially by Maafu himself or his aged aunt, and the process of summoning him is described. Kava was thrown into the sea, and if this was carried off by two small fish, supposed to be the *matabule* of Sekatoa, it showed that the kava was acceptable to the god. A fish about three or four feet long —apparently a dog-fish—would then appear and depart, and this was followed by a number of sharks that appeared and went off again in succession, each being bigger than the one preceding it, until finally the great Sekatoa, who, it is explained, had been the other sharks in disguised forms, appeared in his monster shape, and awaited the pleasure of Maafu, to whom he would then act "as a sort of Delphic oracle"[3]. One of the myths refers to a king of the island of Eua, who when on land was a man, but who also lived in the sea in the form of a shark[4]. It was also believed that porpoises took care of vessels, being entered by the gods for this purpose, and they were therefore much respected[5]. Here again actual permanent incarnation is not averred; but the conduct of the porpoises is totemic in character.

Lawry tells us of a Tongan god Feaki, immanent in a whale's tooth. He speaks of this deity as being "the first in rank and power, the fountain head of all the minor gods"; but I have no information about the god from any other source, and fancy it must merely have been the tutelar god of the chief who told Lawry about it[6].

In the island of Namuka they killed no flies, though these were very numerous and plagued the people extremely; and Tasman's steersman having accidentally killed a fly in the presence of one of the principal people, the latter showed anger at it[7].

[1] Mariner, vol. I, pp. 206 *sq.*
[2] Lawry, *F.F.I.* (1), p. 20.
[3] Mahony, *J.P.S.* vol. XXIV, p. 116.
[4] Reiter, *Anthrop.* vol. II, p. 743.
[5] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 100 *sq.*
[6] Lawry, *F.F.I.* (2), pp. 35 *sqq.*
[7] Burney, vol. III, pp. 88 *sq.*

Some information as to Tongan ideas and practices which have passed away to a large extent, though not entirely, has been collected quite recently by Collocott. He refers to the polytheism which, he suggests, had developed by way of totemism. There were the usual restrictions on the eating of the sacred animal, though some fish which enjoyed a certain amount of sanctity were used as food by those in whose eyes they were sacred; but as to this latter point, he had not been able positively to ascertain whether the species of a fish in which a god was actually embodied was ever eaten by its devotees[1]. Although most of the gods had a sacred animal or other object, it is not certain whether this was quite universal, and, on the other hand, he refers to cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was sacred, but no one seemed to know to what god[2].

The idea of the helpful disposition of a totem may perhaps be suspected in a tradition, to which Collocott refers, of the advice given by the god Tuifiti to some people about to engage in war, following which a lump of plantain was placed between them and the enemy. Each of the warriors ate a piece of this food, and none of them, after doing so, was to turn aside to the right or left, or to flee from the foe, for immunity from death or serious wound lay in keeping straight ahead[3]. This is not, I admit, a clear case, because no special association of the god with the plantain is disclosed. We seem, however, to have an example of the helpful totem in a tradition as to the *veka* (rail), which was the god of a chief and helped his son, who had been cast into the sea at birth, and was unknown to his father, by guiding him in his travels to his father, then in hiding from a foe[4]. There is also a story of a god of the island of Eua, who was wont to appear in a species of shark, and who was guarded by a shark when he was swimming to Samoa[5].

Some stories are told which may possibly be associated with totemism and birth. According to one of them, a woman, being pregnant, had a craving for rail as food; her husband, who worshipped the dove, screwed the neck of this bird, and gave it to her, and she ate it, evidently thinking that it was a rail, with the result that her child, when born, had the mark of a dove's head on its face[6]. Perhaps the more probable explanation of this tale is that the mark on the child's face was due to

[1] Collocott, *J.P.S.* vol. xxx, p. 160. [2] *Ibid.* p. 161. [3] *Ibid.* p. 232.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 234. [5] *Ibid.* p. 236. [6] *Ibid.* p. 160.

the anger of the god at the killing and eating of his incarnation; but there may have been some idea that the child had inherited, as it were, from the god some "dovey" matter, and I refer, as to this, to Collocott's statement that the idiom used to express such cravings of a pregnant woman might be translated with strict accuracy, so far as the form of expression goes, as the food by which she was pregnant, or had conceived[1]. There was a belief that if a woman was pregnant, and was not aware of the fact, or was keeping it secret, an owl would hoot near the house in the afternoon, whereby it was known that a pregnant woman was in it[2]. According to another tradition a goddess, having indulged a voracious appetite in Bulotu [the home of gods and paradise of the dead] and swallowed a yam, gave birth to a root that became the progenitor of all the yams in the Tongan islands[3].

The habit of a totem to foretell the death of one of its people may perhaps be seen in a belief, to which Collocott refers, that the crying of the rail at night was an omen of death. It was believed that the home near which it was heard would be the scene of death, and the direction in which it flew away was an indication of the place where the dead person would be buried[4]. This is apparently spoken of by Collocott as a general belief, nothing being said as to any confinement of the belief to persons who worshipped a god incarnate in the rail; but I do not think this removes the possible significance of the belief, which may at one time have been more limited.

I have already collected a few statements by other writers as to certain animals, and I now propose to adopt the same plan with some of Collocott's material. The great sea-eel (*toke*) was the sacred animal of the god of a chief of eastern Tongatabu, and the eel dwelt in an opening of the reef opposite the village. It resented anyone's appearance on the beach near its abode with a head bound with a turban or whitened with lime, and would carry off anyone who offended in this way to the hole in the rock where it lived[5]. I may say that in Tonga the wearing of a turban was a sign of hostility; but I cannot explain the lime. The sacred animal of what appears to have been a tribal god was a lizard, and for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or post was always provided for him to crawl along, and a handy post or tree stump was a

[1] Collocott, *J.P.S.* vol. xxx, p. 160. [2] *Ibid.* p. 234.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 231. [4] *Ibid.* p. 233. [5] *Ibid.* pp. 227 *sq.*

regular part of his temple furnishings. The god used to appear in a certain pond, and was noted for his fondness for the women, who used to become sick by bathing in the sacred water; and I gather that they became pregnant by so doing[1]. This last statement may be compared with the beliefs as to the great Samoan lizard god Pili. The god of one district had for his sacred animal a sea-snake, and whenever this was seen ashore the people knew that it was the god, and not an ordinary snake[2].

A flying-fox god was worshipped in one district, but the actual god seems to have been a special white coloured species. Its appearance was regarded as an omen of disaster to its worshipper; and flying foxes [apparently all of them] were protected in that district by a taboo, though one or two great chiefs had the privilege of shooting them, and if one fell from the trees to the ground it was free from taboo, and might be picked up and taken away[3].

In one district, the octopus god used to appear in a pool ashore, and when he did so, he was at once recognized as the god. The priestess immediately went to his shrine, apparently a little raised platform, and awaited him, whither presently came the people with bunches of coconuts, and plaited coconut leaves and earth, and the priestess talked to the octopus and apparently imitated its way of sprawling out. The people not only eschewed in their own diet the flesh of the octopus, but they might not approach a place where it was being eaten. A transgressor of this taboo would be afflicted with baldness, though this could be cured by suitable supplications. If any of the octopus people found one of their gods dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial. There was a small species of octopus which was a favourite delicacy with most Tongans, but the people of one cluster of villages refrained from eating it[4]. Perhaps the punishment of baldness must be associated with a similarity produced thereby to the head of an octopus.

Speaking of sharks, Collocott says that though there was more than one shark deity he only knew of one clan which refrained from eating shark from religious motives, but in view of the very recent period of his investigation I do not think this proves anything. He refers to the two most famous shark gods who manifested themselves in sharks, which were not used for food[5]. He tells us of a god of both land and sea,

[1] *Ibid.* p. 227. [2] *Ibid.* p. 233. [3] *Ibid.* p. 230.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 231 *sq.* [5] *Ibid.* p. 160.

who was manifest at sea as a shark. This god was a protector of gardens, and a plait of coconut leaf in the semblance of a shark, hung up in a plantation, put the garden under a taboo which none dared violate; one sacrilegious Christian convert, who treated the mark with indignity, had both his arms bitten off by a shark soon after when he was bathing[1]. Speaking of the shark who guarded the god when swimming from Eua to Samoa, Collocott says that approach to the god's cavern was impossible to anyone wearing a sweet-smelling leaf girdle, or having the head whitened with lime [compare the sea-eel], or apparently being afflicted with physical or moral defects; and he tells us that the people of Eua were said to be immune from attack by one species of shark[2]. An illustration of the curious origins sometimes attributed to the sacred character of animals may perhaps be seen in a story told by Collocott, of a young man who was sailing with his companions on the sea, and told them to jump one by one into the sea. Each of them as he did so became a shark of a harmless variety; but the young man himself was turned into one of the great man-eating sharks, and since then the shark has been taboo to the people of that district and must not be eaten by them, on account of the relationship subsisting between them[3].

Observations

I draw attention to the following ideas and practices which may be associated with totemism, or may have a bearing on that subject, which the above evidence discloses. There is Rivers's statement as to a general belief in descent from the animal; and a similar idea may underly the belief that pregnancy followed bathing in the pond of the lizard, and perhaps Collocott's story of the woman who ate the dove. There is the tradition of the woman who gave birth to the first yam. Examples of the human origin of animals, otherwise than by birth, are found in the story of the girl whose head turned into the first turtle, and in that of the young men who were turned into sharks; and we have the same idea in another form in the belief that sacred animals were spirits revisiting the earth. There is the usual taboo against eating the sacred animal; and we find examples of the freedom of chiefs from the taboo against eating turtle and certain fish and perhaps flying foxes, and of the avoidance of this taboo by first giving a portion to the gods.

[1] Collocott, *J.P.S.* vol. xxx, p. 229. [2] *Ibid.* p. 236. [3] *Ibid.* p. 239.

The friendly attitude of the animal, or in some cases its giving of actual help, is seen in what we are told about sharks, possibly the plantain, and by the rail. There is the curious belief as to the owl's disclosure of the pregnancy of a woman. We are told that the cry of the rail was an omen of death; and the appearance of a sort of flying fox was an omen of disaster, which may mean the same thing. There is evidence pointing to split totems.

SOCIETY ISLANDS

Birds

I have drawn attention, in connection with the sanctity in Tonga of bats that frequented the burial grounds, to the caution which must be observed in regarding as totemic in origin or character the sanctity attributed to birds or other flying creatures that frequented the groves in which were the *marae* and burying places, the possibility being that it was due to the sanctity of the place of resort and perhaps to beliefs as to only temporary entry by the gods into the birds for the purpose of communicating with men. Neither of these explanations, if correct, would, I think, make it necessary to reject the possibility of totemic origin or character. It may be, for instance, that the supernatural beings that entered the birds were supposed to be, or had once been regarded as, the souls of the deified dead; and the point should be borne in mind. Probably the question arises as to other islands, besides those of Tonga and the Society group; but we have from the latter some statements about it. Ellis says a bird was a frequent emblem of deity, and they believed the god often came in the body of a bird to the *marae*, where it left the bird and entered the image, through which it was supposed to communicate with the priest[1]. On another page he includes among the animate objects of worship, a number, not only of fishes, but of birds, especially a species of heron, a kingfisher, and one or two kinds of woodpecker, accustomed to frequent the sacred trees growing in the precincts of the temple. These birds were considered sacred, and were usually fed upon the sacrifices. The people imagined that the god was embodied in the bird when it approached the temple to feast upon the offering; and hence they supposed their presents were grateful to their deities. The cries of the birds were also regarded as responses of the gods to the prayers

[1] Ellis, vol. I, p. 323.

of the priests[1]. The birds were even believed to feed on the bodies of the human victims[2]. De Bovis says there were many birds and fish to whom a cult was offered, as to the gods; and though *marae* were erected to them only rarely, prayers were addressed and offerings made to them. They were not gods in themselves, but it was thought that gods dwelt in their bodies. As examples of these he refers to the *oovea*, a sort of cuckoo, associated with the god Manuteaha; the *otuu*, a sort of crab-eater (*crabier*), associated with Ruanuu; the *ruro*, one of the kingfishers, connected with Raa[3]. It will be noticed that he appears to be speaking of these birds generally, and not merely in connection with any habit of frequenting the sacred groves of the *marae*[4].

There are, however, a number of statements by writers, some of which imply, or may possibly be interpreted as implying, that the belief was that the gods were actually incarnate in the birds, and all of which point to the sanctity of certain birds. Cook says that in Tahiti and the adjoining islands the people had particular birds—some a heron, and others a kingfisher—to which they paid a particular regard, and concerning which they had some superstitious notions with respect to good and bad fortune; they were called *atua*, and the people never killed or molested them, but they never addressed a petition to them or approached them with any act of adoration[5]. According to Forster, herons, kingfishers and cuckoos were all sacred, but were not held in equal veneration by all the people, and different islands protected different birds[6]. Some of the people of the island of Huahine regarded a blue white-bellied kingfisher and a greyish heron as *atua*; others encouraged Cook's party to shoot them. Neither lot expressed disapprobation of their being shot. The birds were not looked upon as divinities, but the name bestowed upon them [*atua*] conveyed the idea of veneration[7]. This distinction between people who did and did not regard a species of bird as sacred is perhaps seen in the statement that the chief of the island of Ra'iatea asked Cook not to shoot herons and woodpeckers, whilst a priest who was with the party paid little or no regard to these birds[8]. Apparently the sacred birds of Ra'iatea included king-

[1] Ellis, vol. I, p. 336. Cf. Cook, vol. VI, p. 31; Wilson, pp. 163, 378.
[2] Ellis, vol. I, p. 358. [3] De Bovis, pp. 284 *sq.* Cf. p. 273.
[4] I do not say this merely because he says the birds did not usually possess *marae*. [5] Cook, vol. I, p. 224. [6] Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 154.
[7] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 379. [8] Cook, vol III, p. 342.

fishers, or a species of them, because Forster says that the shooting there by the English of some kingfishers caused lamentation on the part of the daughter of the chief for the death of her *atua* and grief to the other women; and the chief asked the Englishmen to abstain from shooting kingfishers and herons, though he said they might shoot any other birds[1]. Possibly Cook and Forster are referring to the same episode, and the former has omitted to mention kingfishers, whilst the latter has omitted the woodpeckers. The *Duff* missionaries were shown by a priest a rush wrapped up (*sic*) in the form of a bird, and told that through it they worshipped their god, and it gave divine response[2]. Corney relates a Spanish account, according to which they shot two birds, which the people would not eat for fear of the deity in whom they believed; the following day an *ari'i* [chief] dined with the Spaniards, but on recognizing these birds on the dish he would not partake of them, saying they would make his eyes reel[3]. In commenting on this, Corney says that several birds were considered sacred by the Tahitians—notably a cuckoo (*oovea*), the kingfisher (*ruro*) and the crab-heron (*otuu*); they seem, he says, to have been regarded as shrines or vehicles for certain gods rather than as divinities in substance or form[4].

Beechey says there was in Tahiti a little bird called *oomamoo*, which had the gift of speech, and used to warn persons of any danger by which they were threatened. People would often, at a warning from this bird that they were to be seized as sacrificial victims, escape by fleeing into the mountains according to the bird's directions[5]. Tyerman and Bennet were shown in Huahine a white bird, with a long blue bill and webbed feet, about the size of a dove, called *pirai*, which, they were told, was worshipped. It was supposed to preside over accidents, and being found in breadfruit trees, its protection was sought against falling while climbing. The belief was that the bird, seeing a man falling, would fly beneath him, and so save him, or at least lessen the force of the fall. The chief who told of this said that once, when he fell from a breadfruit tree, one of these birds glanced under him so closely as to touch his neck with the flapping of its wings, and in consequence he sustained no

[1] Forster, *Voy.* vol. I, p. 394. [2] Wilson, p. 163.
[3] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, pp. 189 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 189 *note* 2. The crab-eater mentioned by de Bovis appears to be what Corney calls the crab-heron.
[5] Beachey, p. 293.

injury; whereupon he immediately cut a large branch of bananas and offered them to the bird at the *marae*[1].

Sharks

Sharks evidently occupied a prominent position among the sacred animals of Polynesia, and this is hardly matter for wonder, so far as Tahiti was concerned, seeing that the powerful Teva people believed that they were descended from a shark. I have already suggested the possibility that the shark, or perhaps a species of shark, was the embodiment of Tane and that Tane was the great god of the Teva people. There is evidence of the great sanctity attributed to certain sharks, though in most cases we are not told from which of the islands the evidence was obtained, nor, if it was Tahiti, to what part of that island it applied. I refer, however, in the first place to statements, to which I drew attention in discussing this Tane question, as to the prevalence of the worship of the shark in the island of Huahine. We have seen that the people worshipped and offered them large oblations; that in one bay the sharks were so tame that they came regularly to the beach to be fed; that some of the sharks were known and given honourable names; that almost every family had its particular shark; that the sharks were credited with miraculous acts; and that two *marae* were seen dedicated to sharks. We have also been told of a belief, apparently in the island of Borabora, associating a shark with the Milky Way, and to a somewhat similar belief, spoken of by Moerenhout, which prevailed in some part of the Society group. De Bovis, after making the statements as to sacred birds which I have already quoted, says the shark seems to have enjoyed a still greater consideration, and that he thinks he found the ruins of some *marae* consecrated to it[2], but he does not tell us where these were. Ellis is apparently speaking of the Society Islands generally, when he says that, though the people would not only kill but eat certain kinds of shark, the large blue sharks (*squalus glaucus*) were deified by them, and far from attempting to destroy these animals, the people endeavoured to propitiate their favour by prayers and offerings. Temples were erected, in which the priests officiated, and offerings were presented to these sharks; whilst fishermen and others who were much at sea, sought their favour[3]. Cook

[1] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 248.
[2] De Bovis, p. 285. Cf. p. 273.
[3] Ellis, vol. I, pp. 166 *sq.*

tells of a shark, kept prisoner in a creek, with some of his fins cut off to prevent escape, and says that the king offered it to him for food[1]; this suggests that all sharks were not taboo as food, at all events to chiefs, Cook being regarded as a chief. I have already referred, in connection with the curious Society Islands tendency towards division of areas into eight, to the old legend which seems to connect this number with the cuttle-fish, and to the possibility that the habit of speaking of Tahiti as a "fish" may have been connected with a cuttle-fish. This may have been so, and the practice of calling the island a cuttle-fish, if such was meant, would not be inconsistent with another belief that it had been a shark. A belief of this sort is recorded by Ellis who was told of a legend that Tahiti had originally been a shark, that had come from Ra'iatea; according to this legend, the eastern end of the island had been the shark's head and the western end its tail, and its ventricles or gills were identified with a lake, while certain mountains formed its fins[2]. Ellis tells us wondrous tales about these deified blue sharks. They were said always to recognize a priest on board any canoe, to come at his call, retire at his bidding, and spare him, in the event of a wreck, though they might devour his companions, especially those who were not their worshippers. Ellis was repeatedly told of one of the priests of the shark gods being carried by a shark on its back from Ra'iatea to Huahine, a distance of twenty miles[3]. Two of these deified sharks, Tuumao and Tahui, came to pay their respects and congratulate a new king upon his assumption of government. This was done during his ceremonial sea bath, and his excursion in the sacred canoe; and tales were told of past rulers, who, at the time of their inauguration, actually played with these sharks, without receiving any injury[4]. No doubt these were the shark gods, of whom we are told that they actually caressed and washed the newly inaugurated king, as he bathed[5]. I think these references to "a new king" and "past rulers" must point to the head Teva chiefs of Papara, because they alone seem to have been great dominant chiefs in Tahiti prior to the rise in power of the Pomare family; and this would be consistent with the shark being a great Teva god.

I may say that this royal ceremonial bath appears really to have been regarded as an ordeal, intended to put to the test

[1] Cook, vol. III, p. 317. [2] Ellis, vol. I, p. 167. [3] *Ibid.* p. 329.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. III, pp. 111 *sq.* [5] Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 26.

the legitimacy of the new ruler, and the sanction of the gods to his inheritance of the throne[1]; and I draw attention to Frazer's suggestion that some of the judicial ordeals may have been based on totemism; the idea is that the totem would not injure its friend, and that, where the ordeal consisted in the alleged wrong-doer giving a dangerous animal an opportunity of doing so, an unfortunate ending to the trial showed that the man was disowned by his totem, and so was presumably guilty[2]. The royal bathing ceremony above referred to would, I think, come within this category. I suggest, not, of course, that it was a test put on a wrong-doer, but that it was a test of the king's acceptability, originally perhaps to a totem, and afterwards to an incarnate deity—a trial of the recognition by the god of his sanctity.

Tyerman and Bennet tell of a Huahine tradition of a horrible monster that once worked its way up through the solid ground. As it approached the surface, the earth rent asunder, and the people, fleeing on all sides, saw a huge shark rear its head and open its jaws through the cleft soil. A *marae* was erected, in commemoration of the event, upon the spot, which was very near a lagoon, whereupon a shark made its way through the sand, and took possession of the temple, the water of the lagoon flowing in with him; a reservoir was thus formed, and this was dammed up, and afterwards kept replenished, and in it the shark lived, and daily received his food from the devotees who flocked thither. The native who narrated all this was a descendant of the builders of the *marae*; and he often prayed and sacrificed to the shark[3]. Moerenhout says that in the Society Islands sharks were adored, not for themselves, but merely because they were animated by the spirits of the gods whose names they bore[4]. I have referred in previous pages to the taking by Pomare II of the Attahuru image of Oro to Tautira, and to the other gods whose images accompanied that of Oro in the voyage. Two of these gods, Ruahatu and Huae-maa, are stated to have been shark gods[5]; and I may say that the former of these was an important god well known in some of the Polynesian groups. Caillot refers to the fish gods of the island of Huahine; he says they were chiefly sharks and tunny fish, and that their stone images were taken with ceremony to the

[1] Cf. Ellis, vol. III, p. 111.
[2] Frazer, *T. and E.* vol. I, pp. 20 *sq.*
[3] Tyerman, vol. I, pp. 245 *sqq.*
[4] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 456.
[5] *L.M.S. Trans.* vol. III, p. 171.

edge of the sea, and then each kind of fish approached its god, which made abundant catches possible[1]. There was a tale of Tafa'i [well known in traditions of parts of Polynesia], who swam the seas on a sheath of coconut flower as his ship, being told by his mother that he would meet *his ancestor* [my italics], a shark, who would take him to his destination, which in fact it did[2]. Then afterwards, when this man and his cousin were in hades, and the cousin was caught by the hook of the blind Ui [the goddess of hades] he called upon the latter to let the cousin go, threatening her with the wrath of the terrible shark if she did not do so[3].

Eels and lizards

I have, in connection with Samoa, referred to a possible association of Tangaroa, Pili (the lizard god) and some other deities whom I connect with the Tangaroans, with eels, lizards, etc.—animals with pointed tails—and have drawn attention to stories of violation by such animals of girls, and of the growth of a coconut from the animal's head. There was a Tahitian tale of a woman, who, being about to meet her friends and wishing to take them a present, acting on her husband's instruction, caught an eel, cut off its head, threw the rest of its body into the water, and carried the eel away with her in a calabash. There is no suggestion in this story of violation by the eel of the girl; but we are told that a coconut tree grew out of its head[4]. In discussing political areas in the Society Islands I have referred to Ra'iatea as having apparently been the original seat there of the worship of Tangaroa and Oro, and have referred to a belief that the peopling of the islands was the work of Tangaroa in Ra'iatea, operating in the shapes of *ti'i* or spirits, and to the story of the Ra'iatea girl being swallowed by an eel, which became possessed by her spirit, broke off a portion of the island, and swam away, and dropping a portion of it, formed the island of Eimeo, Tahiti being formed out of the rest.

Davies, in his dictionary, gives Aerorau as the name of a god, and of a fabulous *mo'o* or lizard, said to have many tails; though he does not say the lizard was an incarnation of the god. This word *mo'o* is the same, allowing for the consonantal change, as *moko* in Rarotonga, and there is a Rarotongan song,

[1] Caillot, *L.P.O.* p. 96. Cf. Ellis, vol. 1, p. 329. [2] *J.P.S.* vol. XXI, p. 8.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 10. [4] Gill, *Myths*, pp. 80 *sq.*

referring to Tahiti in which is a reference to a demon fish Te-moko-roa-i-ata[1].

There is in the interior of the Teva district of Mataiea a lake called Vairia, which was believed to be inhabited by an immortal eel[2]; the eels in this lake were said to have large ears, and there was a custom after war for the victors to cut off the ears of their captives and then throw them into the lake[3]. According to a Mataiean legend, the ancestors of the people were descended from a woman by an eel dwelling in this lake; the people of the district therefore regarded eels as their ancestors, and held them in great veneration. The canoes of the various districts seem to have had representations of animals on their prows, and the Mataiean canoe had a monstrous eel's head[4]. Annual pilgrimages to this lake were made by the people[5]. I think we may surmise that the captives thrown into the lake were probably offered to the eel.

On the north-east coast of Huahine, in a rocky ravine, was a *marae* dedicated to the lizard. There was a legend there that in remote ages a lizard was born of a human mother, and immediately on its birth was translated into a god; and this ravine and *marae* were the retreat of the god, and divine honours had been paid to it there ever since[6]. Tahiti also had a lizard tale. On a flat ledge, immediately below one of the highest peaks, was an impression, about 50 feet long, of a gigantic lizard, and the legend concerning it was that a beautiful girl was carried off by a "demon," who kept her with him till she bore him a son—a lizard. She escaped soon afterwards, married and became a widow, but had a daughter. One day she saw a huge lizard near her hut; they recognized each other as mother and son and the lizard obeyed her, caught fish and made *poa* for her, and was kind to her little girl. On a subsequent day she left the child for a few days in charge of the lizard, and the lizard was kind to the child at first, but was afterwards angered because she disturbed its sleep; so the lizard ate up the child, and went into the bush. On her return the mother pursued the lizard, which she had to follow higher and higher into the mountains; and at last, when it had climbed to the edge of a precipice, she reached and rushed at it. It fell and from its blood grew the *pappaw* tree; and it was believed that any woman who ate the fruit of this tree would

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. XXI, p. 58. [2] Mrs Hort, pp. 224 *sq.* [3] Agostini, p. 82.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 47 *sq.* [5] *Ibid.* p. 80. [6] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 250.

bear offspring[1]. There is no suggestion that the lizard was deified; but the tale is worth repeating, as, in view of the results credited to the product of its blood, it is likely that it was so.

Turtles

Turtles, according to one of the Spanish records, might only be eaten by kings, being forbidden as food to private persons, and even to relatives of the royal family[2]. Ellis says the turtle was always held sacred and dressed with sacred fire within the precincts of the temple, part of it being always offered to the idol[3]. Williams says practically the same thing, and adds that only the king and principal chiefs ate it[4]. The *Duff* missionaries say it was sacred and was eaten at the *marae*[5]. Tyerman and Bennet say that it was the custom for the people, when they caught a turtle, to present it to the king. It was taken to the *marae* and baked there; part was offered to the idol; the remainder was brought to the king and his family, but they might not eat it before it had been offered to the idol. If this ceremony was not performed, supernatural punishment would be inflicted on the offenders[6].

Some other animals

Baessler says there were a great many dolphins at Mo'orea (Eimeo) because the natives regarded them as relations and never killed them. He gives a legend as to this. A powerful magician of their race (*Stamm*) had fetched stars from heaven and tried to dry them on the shore in the sun; but the gods, angry at the stealing of their property, sent heavy rain to wash the stars into the sea. To prevent this, the magician sent his children to fetch the stars from the shore, but the rain washed the children into the sea, where they were transformed into dolphins[7]. According to another legend, a man caused his four cousins to be changed into porpoises "which are said until now" to be the descendants of the father of these cousins; and that was the reason why the porpoise had red blood[8]. Whether or not those two stories, in speaking of dolphins and porpoises, are referring to the same or different animals I cannot say. Even if, as is quite possible, they were merely legendary explanations

[1] Walpole, vol. II, pp. 134–7.
[2] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 273.
[3] Ellis, vol. II, p. 93. Cf. Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 454 *sq. note*.
[4] Williams, p. 500.
[5] Wilson, p. 368.
[6] Tyerman, vol. I, pp. 85 *sq.*
[7] Baessler, *N.S.B.* p. 105.
[8] Leverd, *J.P.S.* vol. XXI, p. 9.

of existing beliefs as to the human origin of the animals, they indicate that the beliefs were there, and so have some bearing on our subject.

De Bovis says there were several fish that were credited with rights of divinity[1]. Tyerman and Bennet refer to a mountain in Huahine on the top of which was a ruined *marae* that had once been dedicated to the worship of the dog, and had been held in profound veneration[2]; and say that in the same island the *varoo*, a species of lobster, pale yellow in colour, with lilac and black spots, was once a deity[3].

Davies, in his dictionary, refers to an insect called *pata*, found in the thatch of houses, and whose noise in striking the thatch was an omen of war.

Observations

I have referred to the belief of the Teva people that they were descended from a shark; there is the story of Tafa'i, whose ancestor was a shark; and we have the belief of the Mataiea people that they were descended from an eel. Traditions are disclosed of human birth of a lizard, and of human beings being changed into dolphins and porpoises. It is noticeable that very little is actually said about unwillingness to eat certain animals, but this is involved by evidence of unwillingness to kill them. The confinement to high chiefs of the permission to eat turtle is disclosed, and even they might not do this without first offering it to the god, and the reference to supernatural punishment shows that this was an important duty. The idea of the friendly, and sometimes helpful, attitude of animals is referred to in the cases of certain species of birds and sharks; and there is the example of a particular insect which warned people of war.

Moerenhout touches this question generally in referring to a Society Island custom for a man to choose a reptile, fish or other animal (except domestic animals) which immediately became for him an object of veneration, to which he confided his fears, which he consulted as to his plans, and from which he expected help and the little advantages and pleasures of everyday life; the object became in his eyes a symbolical image of divinity, or rather a divinity itself[4]. This animal was sacred specially to him, other people, however, regarding it with

[1] De Bovis, p. 273.
[2] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 252.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 262 *sq.*
[4] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 455.

indifference, but choosing each of them some other animal for the same purpose[1]. Examples of the appearance of the totem animal before death are given by Moerenhout's statement that when a native fell ill the approach of the fish, bird or reptile he worshipped infallibly prognosticated his death[2] and by the inclusion in Davies's dictionary of the term *oti* as meaning the cry of the bird *otatare* over a person, which was supposed to be ominous of death.

HERVEY ISLANDS

The island of Mangaia provides some definite information as to specific incarnate gods associated with known social groups of the population. I find no evidence that the great Rongo, the god of war and of the dead, had an incarnation; it is said that he was "represented by" a triton shell, which only the sacred king could use[3], and I may add that in Aitutaki his priests were supposed to be inspired by the shark[4]. The use by the sacred king of the triton shell would, I think, be his prerogative as head chief, and its association with the god would arise from its special use in time of war, and would not, I think, be connected with actual immanence, and the shark, if an incarnation, was perhaps confined to Aitutaki. Next in importance after Rongo we must place Motoro, who was worshipped conjointly with Rongo by what Gill calls the "three original tribes"[5], a term which refers to the descendants of the three grandsons (Rangi, Mokoiro and Akatauira) of Rongo, and must be regarded as applying to the Ngariki, or original people of Mangaia. Motoro was a deified son of the great explorer and warrior of Rarotonga, Tangiia, said to have been sent by him to Rangi, at the request of the latter, to be his god of the living[6]. This Motoro was enshrined in sinnet work, the *oronga* plant and the blackbird (*mo'o*)[7]. Tane, with his innumerable descriptive names[8], was, as we have seen, the god of the Aitu people—the earlier immigrants from Tahiti. He had several incarnations. At Maputo "Tane striving for power" was incarnate in two birds, the *kaua* and the *kerearako*; at Maraeteva "Tane of the Barrington tree" was incarnate in sprats; at Maungaroa "Tane the chirper" was recognized in the planets

[1] *Ibid.* p. 456.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 457.
[3] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 95. Cf. Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 193.
[4] Williams, p. 108.
[5] Gill, *Myths*, p. 27.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 19.
[7] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 229. Cf. Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 95.
[8] Gill, *S.L.P.* pp. 38 *sq.*

Venus and Jupiter, and enshrined in sinnet work[1]. Turanga, who was a god of the Tongan immigrants[2], was worshipped at Aumoana, and was incarnate in the white and black spotted lizard[3]. So also was the Tongan god Tonga-iti[4]. Tiaio was the god of the Mautara, or priestly group, previous worshippers of Tane, whom they had given up[5]; he was worshipped at Mara[6], and was incarnate in the eel and shark[7]. Teipe was the special god of the branch of the Tongan people bearing his name; he was worshipped at Vaiau on the east coast of Mangaia[8], and was incarnate in the centipede[9]; it was believed that the treasures of these people, hidden in caves, were guarded by enormous centipedes, always ready to destroy intruders[10]. These Teipe people also considered themselves as being under the protection of land crabs and pigeons, and, however hungry, were unwilling to eat them[11].

It will be noticed that no specific districts of worship are mentioned by Gill as belonging to the Ngariki gods Rongo and Motoro, whose worship, at all events so far as Rongo was concerned, undoubtedly spread more or less all through the island of Mangaia[12], but that each of the other gods enumerated —that is, three conceptions of Tane (of the Tahitian Aitu group), Turanga and Tonga-iti (of the Tongans), Tiaio (of the Mautara), and Teipe (of a branch of the Tongans)—is spoken of as worshipped in a named district. I have already drawn attention to this matter in discussing social and local grouping.

There is further information of a more or less general character as to incarnate gods of Mangaia. There were two gods, Tekuraaki and Utakea, worshipped in Nuvee, incarnate in the woodpecker[13]. Vatea, the traditional father of gods and men[14], was associated in some way with the porpoise[15]. Gill refers generally to rats, lizards, beetles, eels, sharks and several kinds of birds[16]; to sharks, sword-fish, eels, yellow and black spotted lizards and several kinds of birds and insects[17]; to birds,

[1] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 96.
[2] Aumoana was the ancient *marae* of these people (Gill, *Myths*, p. 292; cf. p. 287).
[3] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 96.
[4] Gill, *Myths*, pp. 10 *sq.*
[5] *Ibid.* p. 30.
[6] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 96.
[7] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 21.
[8] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 309.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 96.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 310.
[11] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 58.
[12] Every high chief had to worship Rongo, god of war and ruler of the invisible world, though he would have his own private god also (Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 17).
[13] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 96.
[14] Gill, *Myths*, p. 3.
[15] *Ibid.* p. 98.
[16] *Ibid.* p. 35.
[17] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 26.

fish, reptiles and insects[1]; to inanimate objects, such as particular trees, sinnet, sandstone and fragments of basalt[2]. The land crab was sacred to one family, but not to another; the centipede was sacred to one, but not to another; and the blackbird was to one family the embodiment of its god, while to another the same bird was food[3]. Gill, speaking of the Teipe people, says that, though famished, they would not eat the animals associated with their gods[4], and we may, I think, assume that similar customs prevailed among the other groups. He refers to certain birds as having been regarded as messengers of gods to warn individuals of impending danger; and says that "each tribe had its own feathered guardian"[5]. Mokoiro, the fisherman's god, was immanent in the extremity of a great coconut leaf, comprising ten or twelve lesser leaves, cut off and neatly bound with yellow sinnet by "the priest of all food"; and no one would venture over the reef to fish without it[6]. Possibly this may be regarded as a "split" totem, but these leaves had a general sanctity in most parts of Polynesia.

Eels and lizards

I return to my question of the possible connection with eels, snakes and lizards—animals with pointed tails—of Tangaroa and some other gods whom I associate with the Tangaroans, as we find what may be traces of it in the Hervey Islands. I first refer to a statement by Gill that lizard worship was introduced into the Hervey group by the Tongans[7]. I point out that the two gods, Turanga and Tonga-iti, of the Tongan people of Mangaia were both incarnate in lizards; and I may add as to this that a lizard and a fresh-water eel were said to dwell in the burial chasm of the Tongan worshippers in Mangaia of Tonga-iti, and to feed upon the bodies placed in it[8]. There was a story in the island of Aitutaki which told of the arrival there of the great chief Te Erui and his companion, of their finding there Mokoroa, a monster lizard, called "the wild one of Tangaroa," and killing it[9]. There was also a Rarotongan story connecting the gods Tangaroa and Tonga-iti with an eel. This tale relates to two people who fished for and caught and killed an eel called Maoro, which belonged to Tangaroa and

[1] Gill, *Myths*, pp. 20 *sq.*, 32. Cf. Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, p. 349.
[2] Gill, *Myths*, p. 32.
[3] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 9 *note* 1.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 57 *sq.*
[5] Gill, *Myths*, p. 35.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 79.
[7] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 96 *note*.
[8] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 71; *S.L.P.* p. 119.
[9] *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 150.

Tonga-iti, of the anger of the two gods at this, and how they caused the water to burst out, carrying the land into the sea, where both land and people were swallowed by a whale[1]. Then there was a Hervey Island version of the Samoan stories of Pili (the eel) and the girl, with the growth from the eel's head of a coconut tree, the substance of this version being as follows, and the name of the girl—Ina—being the same as the name Sina of Samoa (the *s* of Samoa—*h* in Tonga—is wanting in the Hervey Islands). Ina "with the divine lover," the daughter of Kui the Blind, was several times touched when bathing by an enormous eel, whose form afterwards changed to that of a handsome youth, who told her he was Tuna (eel), the god and protector of all fresh-water eels, and who became her lover, returning to his eel form from time to time. On parting from her he said he would reappear in his eel form, and she was to cut off his head and bury it, which she did, and from it sprang two coconut trees, a red one, sacred to Tangaroa, and a green one to Rongo[2]. It was said that women were not allowed to touch salt and fresh-water eels; but this taboo is said to have been based upon a legend that the god had taken the form of an eel in order to watch some women bathing. A woman who had broken the taboo by eating an eel was regarded as having been possessed by an evil spirit, which would impel her to devour her husband, and he fled from her in consequence[3]. A possible alternative explanation would be the sanctity of the eel, based on its divine association, which might well make it a tabooed food, at all events for women.

The Mangaian myth of the origin of things begins with a woman Vari-ma-te-takere—the very beginning—lying cramped up in the lowest depths of Avaiki; and her eldest son was Vatea[4], who, I may say, was under that name, or as Atea, well known in eastern Polynesia, and was probably an old god. I have already discussed the conflicting cults of Atea Tane and Tangaroa in the eastern Pacific. We find the hostility between Atea and Tangaroa in a Marquesan legend of the defeat by Atea, representing light, of Tangaroa, who though regarded in the western islands as a god of the skies, was in this legend the representative of darkness[5]. Rongo, the god of the original

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. XXI, pp. 61 *sq.*

[2] Gill, *Myths*, pp. 77 *sq.* The name of the god (Tuna) signifies a fresh-water eel, or an eel in some of the islands.

[3] Gill, *L.S.I.* pp. 278 *sq.*

[4] Gill, *Myths*, p. 3.

[5] Fornander, vol. I, pp. 214–18.

Ngariki people, was according to my views, a pre-Tangaroan god in the Pacific[1]. Then, according to the traditions, came to Mangaia some Tongans, who, Gill says, introduced lizard worship there, and whose gods Turanga and Tonga-iti were represented by lizards, and one of them was associated in Aitutaki with Tangaroa in the ownership of an eel. My suggestion is that these Tongan immigrants were a group of the great Pacific voyagers whom I am calling Tangaroans.

Cuttle-fish (and lizard)

The cuttle-fish was not, according to Gill, worshipped in Mangaia[2]. Savage learnt from a chief of the highest rank in the royal Makea (Karika) district of Avarua in Rarotonga that the Karika's god was a female called Rangatira-varu-eke[3], as to which name I may point out that *eke* (identical with the Samoan *fe'e*) means a cuttle-fish, and *varu* means "eight," so the name of the goddess associates her with the cuttle-fish. Williams says Rangatira was the god of the king[4]—that is, of the Makea chief, and Gill says the cuttle-fish was the special deity of the reigning Makea family[5].

According to a legend, the god Tonga-iti and his beautiful wife Rangatira lived at Avarua, near the sea, on the northern shore of Rarotonga. Tonga-iti, impelled by his wife's admiration of the spotted lizard, entered the animal, but she then only regarded him with disgust; so he retaliated by enticing her to enter the cuttle-fish, whereupon the sense of disgust was transferred to him. She, in a rage at this, dived into the depths of the ocean, reaching the foundations of Rarotonga, whence she passed by an underground channel, and emerged in a spring of water at the summit of the central mountain of the island, called "the Mist"; and thither Tonga-iti, having changed himself into a sea-lizard, pursued her. They lived there together for a time, but eventually decided to return to Avarua. There was a hole in the rock through which the water of the spring emerged in its downward course seawards; and by means of a

[1] According to the Mangaian myth, Tangaroa and Rongo were the sons of Vatea (Gill, *Myths*, p. 10), but this does not disconcert me. We find inconsistencies of this sort all over the Pacific, many of them arising, no doubt, from competitive stories.

[2] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 290 *note* 1.

[3] Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XVIII, p. 218.

[4] Williams, p. 182.

[5] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 289. Fe'e, the great Samoan cuttle-fish god of the dead, does not appear to have been known in the eastern islands; and I think that the worship of the cuttle-fish by the Makea family, whose ancestors were Tangaroans, was in no way connected with him.

long reed possessing the power of directing this course, and which they inserted in the hole, in a position slanting northward, they diverted the stream so as to make it flow to Avarua, whither they themselves returned. Afterwards the god Toutika appeared on the crest of the mountain and by altering the slope of the reed changed the course of the stream so that it flowed to the east. The legend then tells of the discovery by Tonga-iti and his wife of the change; how they hurried back to the fountain to discover its cause; of the dispute between them and Toutika as to the ownership of the fountain, of the trickery by which the latter, who had intrigued with two guardians left by Tonga-iti and his wife in charge of the fountain, maintained his claim and the stream continued to flow eastward; of the futile efforts to check it; of the dejection of the lizard god who had to content himself with living in the sun, and whose descendants became dirty yellow, sallow-looking spiritless reptiles, with none of the pretty spots that had adorned their ancestor, basking in the sun all day; and of the retreat of Rangatira, the cuttle-fish, to a fresh-water pool near the shore. Gill tells us that this pool or "resting place," as it was called, was near the burial place of the Makea (Karika) kings of Rarotonga, who, down to 1823, continued to worship the cuttle-fish (it is not stated that they claimed descent from it). The feud as to the ownership of the water has continued to this day (1890). The fountain on the top of the mountain, though of fresh water, contains fish found in salt water, from which it is believed it has a subterranean connection with the sea[1].

I suspect that this story has some history behind it. Avarua, on the north coast, was the central seat of the great Makea (Karika) group, and the eastern portion of the island was the home of the equally great Tangiia group of Rarotonga; and there may have been some feud between these two families arising from a diversion—perhaps by an earthquake—of the flow of the water, emerging from the central mountain, from the north coast of the Karika to the eastern coast of the Tangiia people. So far as the cuttle-fish is concerned, we may perhaps see a belief that it had originally been instrumental in directing the supply to its own people in the north; but I cannot offer any explanation of the association with the matter of the gods Tonga-iti and Toutika. If I could show that Tonga-iti (the lizard god) was, like Rangatira (the cuttle-fish), specially

[1] Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, pp. 616–19.

associated with the Karika people, and Toutika with the Tangiia group, and could state the incarnation of Toutika, the story would be extremely interesting; but I am unable to do this. I may say, without going into a lot of detailed evidence to prove it, that both of these gods seem to have been prominent Rarotongan gods, whose worship was not confined to either of these groups, though of course this community of worship might be accounted for amply by the extensive intermarriages between members of the groups, and it must not for a moment be assumed that it had always prevailed.

Porpoises

Gill tells us that in Mangaia Tinirau was the king of all fish, from the shark to the tiniest minnow, but his jurisdiction did not extend to the porpoise; and the explanation given was that this animal, covered with pure fat or blubber, was not a fish. Indeed its origin was seen in Tinirau's elder brother, the god Vatea, who had torn off a portion of his own body and made it into a porpoise[1]. I find no reference to any worship of Vatea in this animal form, and the myth itself does not necessarily suggest that he was incarnate in the porpoise.

Shark and turtle (food of chiefs)

I am taking these two animals together, as the evidence concerning them is similar, referring to offerings to gods and to chiefs' privileges of having them as food. Williams says the turtle was sacred in Rarotonga, and a portion of every one caught had to be offered to the gods, and the remainder, eaten only by the king and principal chiefs, was cooked in the sacred fire[2]. In a description of the installation of a Makea (Karika) king of Rarotonga it is said that the *ariki* was given the name he was to bear, and the right to all turtles and sharks caught; and there is a sentence which suggests that he had a similar privilege as regards two sorts of fish—the *urua* and *punupunu*[3]. We are also told of the catching by the Aitu people of Mangaia of a large turtle, and that it had to be presented at once to the king[4]; and according to an Aitutakian tradition, Iro was killed by the king, because he had only sent him a small portion of a

[1] Gill, *Myths*, p. 98; cf. p. 3.
[2] Williams, p. 500.
[3] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XII, p. 220. Cf. (as regards the turtle) Williams, p. 194; Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVI, p. 18.
[4] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 1.

turtle that had been caught, instead of the whole[1]. In this island, I may say, the priest of Rongo was inspired by a shark[2].

Centipede

There was a tradition, not that Iro was recognized as being incarnate in the centipede, but associating him with it. According to the story, on his mother becoming pregnant, his father said he would leave for the expected child a number of things, including the father's birth-mark, which was a centipede, the appearance of which on the child's back when it was born would prove its paternity. Iro was born with this mark on his back, and when he was angry the mark was seen to writhe[3]; and there was a tradition which refers to Iro lying outside the house of Tane looking like a centipede[4].

Birds

According to Mangaian traditions, the god Maui penetrated to Avaiki in search of fire by entering the body of a red pigeon[5], and there is another story of one of the traditional beings getting a bird to carry him to his destination[6].

Descent from totem

It is stated that among the presents given by Cook to the people of the island of Atiu was a dog (*kuri*), and the animal was adopted as an ancestor by a section of the Ngatiarua people, "who are known to this day" as the Ngatikuri tribe[7]. I am not sure what this adoption of a living animal as an ancestor means, but one would imagine that there was a belief as to descent from a dog, which involved the recognition of the animal as the incarnation of the ancestor.

Help of totem

We have seen examples of the helpful conduct of a totem to his friends in the belief of the Teipe people of Mangaia that the treasures hidden in their caves were guarded by enormous centipedes, and in Gill's statement that birds, regarded as messengers of gods, warned individuals of impending danger; but there is other evidence of this character. Rats are included in one of Gill's lists of incarnations. In Mangaia they were regarded as the progeny of echo, and it was usual, when

[1] Large, *J.P.S.* vol. XII, pp. 134 *sq.* [2] Williams, p. 108.
[3] Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XXV, p. 146; cf. vol. XXVI, p. 53.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. XXVI, p. 16. [5] Gill, *Myths*, pp. 52 *sq.*, 56 *sq.*, 59. [6] *Ibid.* p. 94.
[7] Large, *J.P.S.* vol. XXII, p. 72.

extracting a child's tooth, to pray to the gods to give the child a rat's tooth (*i.e.* a strong tooth) in its place[1]; but this does not imply a prayer to the rat. In Rarotonga, however, the prayer was addressed to the rats themselves; and the extracted tooth was thrown on to the roof of the house, where the rats made their nests in the decayed thatch[2]. There was a Mangaian practice, in anticipation of a warlike expedition, of throwing a number of centipedes, lizards and dragon-flies into water, and noting the number of these creatures that were drowned. This number, according to one statement, indicated apparently the number of the enemy who would be killed[3]; or, according to another, the number of their own people doomed to die[4]. Another method of augury was the hunting of certain species of large fish, the number caught prefiguring the number, apparently of their own people, who would be killed[5]. These creature-drowning and fish-hunting methods do not perhaps point to helpfulness of the totem; but I have thought it better to mention them. Another method of pre-war augury was for the warriors to go on a fish hunt, and if one of them, whilst fishing, was bitten by an *aa* (conger eel) or got his legs clasped by an octopus, this was a sure presage of violent death. Again, a man who caught a really fine fish knew that he would kill a person of distinction, but if he only caught a miserable fish he would only kill an enemy of inferior rank[6]. The omen of being bitten by a conger or caught by an octopus may perhaps be compared with that involved by the appearance, as an omen of death, of a man's totem god. Another method was for the warrior chief to place in his *marae* two shells, supposed to represent the two hostile camps, he offering prayer, and if next morning the enemy shell was found upside down this was a sure omen of their destruction[7]. Certain birds were supposed to give warning of danger, species of linnet and kingfisher being specifically mentioned[8]. The *momoo*, a species of blackbird, was regarded as the incarnation of the god Moo, and when the Pakoko tribe of Mangaia went to war the bird was supposed to lead the way, if the occasion was propitious, by a ball of fire lighting up the path for the warriors[9].

[1] Gill, *L.S.I.* pp. 316 *sq.*
[2] Gill, *Jottings*, pp. 222 *sq.*
[3] Gill, *S.L.P.* pp. 193 *sq.*
[4] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 21.
[5] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 194 *note* 1. Cf. Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 21.
[6] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p.16.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 21.
[8] Gill, *Jottings*, pp. 99–102; *S.L.P.* pp. 162 *sq.*
[9] Gill, *Myths*, p. 205 *note* 1.

Omen of death

In Rarotonga, if a grasshopper alighted on a native, this was an omen of death[1].

MARQUESAS

In the Marquesas the *mako* or shark was credited with distinguished ancestry, having been a child of their great god Atea by one of his wives. I think that the idea was not merely that she gave birth to *a* shark, but that it was the original shark, because, according to the legend, another wife of his gave birth to what was evidently the original kava plant[2]. I do not know whether the belief prevailed over the Marquesan group generally; but should regard it as improbable. Christian says that in Hekeani (an islet of the Hivaoa cluster, in the south) the *moko*, a species of shark, was taboo[3]. As regards the difference in spelling, I may say that in Polynesia *mako* and *moko* and their dialectal equivalents mean the shark and the lizard respectively, so I think Christian's spelling *moko* in this case is a mistake. Concerning his reference to "a species of shark," I find from Tregear's dictionary that in New Zealand *mako* is the name for the tiger shark, and it may have been so in the Marquesas also. According to a story told by a Hivaoa native, the neighbouring island of Fatuhuku had once been supported from below by a shark which Christian identifies as the tiger or ground shark, but afterwards, in a fit of anger, it withdrew its support, and the island, which had been a large one, became partly submerged and its inhabitants perished[4]. In Nukuhiva a species of shark called *peata* was taboo[5]. I do not know whether we are to understand that these taboo sharks were forbidden as food, but I imagine they would be so.

Christian says that in the Marquesas Moko-Hae was the chief of the lizard gods, who were hostile to mankind, producing internal ailments and racking pains[6]; and according to Porter, the Nukuhivans, "from some superstitious notion," were very much afraid of the common small lizard[7].

According to a Nukuhivan legend, man was derived from the *puhi* (eel) and a girl who lived in the sky, the eel having gone up to her and forced her with his tail; she gave birth to a son, who married her, and their children were the ancestors of man-

[1] Gill, *Jottings*, p. 164.
[2] Christian, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 189.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 202.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 199.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 202.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 190.
[7] Porter, vol. II, p. 128.

kind[1]. This is, so far as it goes, another example of the class of story comparable with that of Pili and Sina in Samoa. Christian includes among the Marquesan gods Te Puhi-nui-o-autoo, the king of the eels[2]; but he does not say whether this deity was supposed to be incarnate in an eel. I have referred in a previous chapter to the story of the sacred eel of Nukuhiva in the north-west, and the sacred eel of Hivaoa in the south-east, and of the killing of the former by the latter or his people; we may believe from this that the eel occupied a prominent position among animals in a wide area. It will be noticed that, unless we are to believe that the king of the eels was incarnate, there is no evidence of incarnation in eels.

The *heimanu* or sting-ray was taboo in the Taipii valley of Nukuhiva, as the emblem of the god Upe-Ouoho[3]. Lesson says that the people of Nukuhiva were convinced that this fish was the son of a woman of the country, and they were much afraid of it[4]. A small red fish called *pukoku* was taboo in the island of Huapu; and a fish called *kuavena* was taboo in Nukuhiva[5]. Des Vergnes refers to statements that the Marquesans had fetishes and amulets which they respected infinitely, and he gives as an example of this a species of mollusc, very small and rare, which was hung to a tree in an enclosure, and was said to bring good fortune to all those who inhabited the enclosure[6]. Von den Steinen tells us of fish called *utu*, belonging to the family of the *scombrides*, a kind of mackerel, related to the bonito, which was regarded as extremely taboo. Its flesh was used only for the gods, not being eaten even by the priests. In describing a Marquesan coffin he says that its shape, and the patterns woven upon it, must be connected with the representation of the *utu*, and describes some of the points of similarity. As a matter of fact, it was known that the flesh of this fish sometimes produced symptoms of illness, and was regarded as poisonous, and he suggests that this may have been the reason for the taboo placed upon it as food; but he cannot say whether it was because of its sanctity that it was imitated on the coffins[7]. I may point out as to this that, even if the poisonous character of the fish was the reason for the taboo against it, the idea in the mind of a Marquesan would probably not be medical; he would attribute the ill effects caused by

[1] Lesson, *Poly.* vol. II, p. 229.
[2] Christian, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 190.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 202.
[4] Lesson, *Poly.* vol. II, p. 233.
[5] Christian, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 202.
[6] Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 732.
[7] Von den Steinen, p. 22.

eating the fish to the god or evil spirit that was in it; this would be the reason for its sanctity, and it would be a natural Polynesian conception of taboo. A French missionary was told by the son of a priest that a kind of fish called *vi* had been made by his father taboo to all his family, and that if he ate any of it he would die at once[1].

The turtle seems to have been a sacred animal. The name of the king of Hivaoa was that of the turtle[2]. Porter describes ceremonies connected with turtle catching in the district of the Teii in Anna Maria Bay (Nukuhiva). The king, with all his sons and many others, would sit for hours together, clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods, laid out in little houses—ten or twelve of them in a cluster, each about two feet long and eighteen inches high—by the side of which were several canoes with their fishing apparatus, and round all of which was drawn a line to show that the place was taboo. The king explained that he was going to catch turtle (Porter calls it tortoise) for the gods, and that he would have to pray to them several days and nights for success, during which time he (the king) would be taboo, and dare not enter a house frequented by women[3].

Des Vergnes says that in the north-western islands the *komako* (a kind of nightingale) and the *makoke* (the frigate bird) were sacred and might not be killed[4]. The purple kingfisher was believed to be the messenger of Pahi, the brother of Atea; and the priests took their omens from its twitterings[5]. The priest's son, referred to above, told the French missionary that, besides the *vi* fish, there were other animals, including fowls, which were taboo to him and his brothers, and the eating of which would cause death, at the instance, he thought, of the god Teikamoei[6]. There are other references to fowls; for instance Vincendon-Dumoulin says that in Nukuhiva there was a superstitious taboo which forbad natives to eat them, and a native, when dining on the missionary ship, after eating and drinking freely, got up immediately when roast fowls were served, saying "*tabu*, *tabu*," and would not take his seat again till the dish was removed[7]. Bennett says fowls were taboo in Roapoa [Huapu], and a Roapoan chief said that after eating fowl in

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 365.
[2] Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 19 *note*.
[3] Porter, vol. II, p. 115.
[4] Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 731; cf. vol LIII, p. 382.
[5] Christian, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 188.
[6] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 366.
[7] *I.M.* pp. 213, 263.

Hawai'i he was taken very ill[1]. According to Mathias, though cocks were taboo until they died of old age, apparently only because of the beautiful feathers they provided, hens were not so; but even the latter might only be cooked occasionally, at the time of the four great feasts of the year[2]. Melville says that black pigs were fenced about by the operation of the taboo[3].

The informant of the French missionary, after speaking of the *vi* fish, said, as we have seen, that there were other animals which were taboo as food. Des Vergnes says that the best food was reserved for the chiefs in common with the religious heads and the gods, and failing offerings they would requisition them[4]; also that there were sacred animals reserved for the gods, which might not be eaten, or which had to be offered to them, and gives as an example the mullet which was taboo, adding that when one of these fish was taken it was offered to the *atua*, though he thinks the *taua* (priest) would eat it[5]. These statements are interesting in their references to other animals; the evidence given above refers in some cases to animals being taboo, without defining what this involved, and in particular whether they were taboo as food, but I think they must have been so. Des Vergnes also perhaps refers to a practice similar to that which we have seen in other islands of offering taboo food to the gods, after which the food might be eaten, at all events by somebody.

There was a legend of a man who, having been wrecked with his canoe, was swallowed by a large shark, which deposited him three days later in an island inhabited only by women, an event which led to the introduction of men into the island and birth of families[6]. Possibly this may be attributed to benevolence on the part of the shark.

It is stated that if at any time several night moths were seen this foretold the death of a priest[7].

Observations

I point out that, except perhaps in the cases of the chief of the lizard gods and the king of the eels, and except in that of the sting-ray and perhaps animals connected with Teikamoei, there is no evidence pointing to beliefs that these taboo animals were incarnate gods, or were associated with specific deities.

I refer to a few matters disclosed by the evidence which are

[1] Bennett, vol. I, p. 286. [2] Mathias, p. 250. [3] Melville, p. 246.
[4] Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 721. [5] *Ibid.* p. 731.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 725 *sq.* [7] Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. XXV, p. 496

of interest in connection with totemism. The belief as to descent from the totem is disclosed by the story of the eel forcing a girl, and her subsequent marriage with their son. The idea of human origin of a totem is seen in the belief that the sting-ray was the offspring of a woman. The *utu* fish is said to have been the food of the gods only; but I gather from what des Vergnes tells us that some sacred animals reserved for the gods might be eaten after it had first been offered to the gods, though we do not know whether this permission was confined to the chiefs or extended to any other classes. Probably the turtle was a specially taboo food in view of what we are told as to the preliminaries before catching it. The belief as to the helpful disposition of a totem may perhaps be seen in the case of the species of mollusc (though this might be only a case of magic); we clearly have an example of it in the attention paid to the twitterings of the kingfisher; and perhaps the story of the man carried by a shark may be interpreted in the same way. The belief as to the appearance of a totem before death may perhaps be associated with what we are told about the moths.

PAUMOTU

According to one of the French missionaries, eels of streams were gods in Gambier Island, but "are now" (1836) eaten[1]. The Paumotuan island of Makemo provides another version of the story of the eel and the girl and the coconut. In this account we find the god Maui coming to earth, and Hina coming from the bottom of the sea to pay court to him. This caused a battle between Maui and Tuna in which the latter was killed, and his head was cut off and buried, and from it a coconut grew[2]. It is reasonable to assume that Tuna was a lover of the woman Hina; and though his name is given as that of a man, the word *tuna* means an eel. A similar, though not identical, version comes from the island of Napuka, and in this it is said that Tuna was half man and half fish[3]. Montiton refers to a species of domestic worship after death offered in the island of Takoto to women, which "had a visible connection with the serpent"; but his account of this is not quite clear. When a woman died they bound some locks of their hair to the end of a staff decorated with feathers, and placed the staff in the ground near a little altar of pandanus wood called *ruahine* to distinguish

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. x, p. 190.
[2] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 27.
[3] Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. xxvii, p. 134.

it from the *marae*; it was to this altar that they came to pray and give food offerings when they were getting ready to go fishing for sea-eels, and every time after a sea-eel was caught. Montiton speaks of a sort of enmity between women and these sea-serpents and the care taken not to bring them face to face, and says that when eels were caught, they were covered with green foliage, before and after cooking, and the people then each took a piece of the foliage and laid it, with coconuts or any other food, upon the altar[1]. I am unable to offer any confident explanation of all this; but I draw attention to what is perhaps a possibility. Sexual association with a species of animal suggests what Frazer called a sex totem[2], but for which term he afterwards proposed to substitute that of sex patron[3]. He gives Australian examples of cases in which the men and women had their separate sex patrons and of the hostility and trouble that arose between the sexes if one of them killed the patron of the other[4]. If we look at what Montiton tells us in the light of this Australian evidence, and assume that the women of Takoto regarded, or had once regarded, the sea-eel as their sex patron, then we get a reasonable explanation of what he describes. The care of the men not to let the women see a sea-eel which they had caught might be based, not on hostility on the part of the woman to the eel, but on the fact that it was, or had in olden days been regarded as, their patron, and the undesirability, past or present, of their seeing its body killed by the men; and the object of the altar, which was evidently a permanent structure (not simply erected every time a woman died) and seems to have been specially associated with women, and of the religious ceremony performed there prior to and after the eel-catching might be to propitiate the ghosts of the departed women for the wrong the men were proposing to do, and afterwards had done, to the patron of the female sex. I admit that this is wild speculation; but Montiton was, I think, a careful observer, whose statement is probably correct in substance, so there must be *some* explanation of what he describes, and I can think of no other. I may say as to the word *ruahine* that, according to Tregear's dictionary, *ruwahine* or *ruahine* means in various parts of Polynesia, an old woman, and so would, I think, be applicable to the female dead; and

[1] Montiton, vol. VI, p. 366. [2] Frazer, *T. and E.* vol. I, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 456; vol. IV, p. 173.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 47 *sq.*

curiously enough, in New Zealand Ruahine was, according to the dictionary, the name of the tutelary deity of eels.

The French missionaries say that certain fish were reserved for the king and nobles, and if a common man ate them his land would be taken from him. The turtle was among those taboo fish, and when caught had to be brought to the king[1]. We have seen how the right to the head of a turtle was insisted upon by the chief of the island of Takaroa and recognized, and Audran, in commenting on this, refers to the exclusive right of the chief of the *marae* to the head of a turtle, where it was offered to the god before being cut up and placed in the oven[2]. The kings had fish ponds in which were kept all turtles brought to them[3] and certain other fish[4]. According to Montiton, the sacrifices at the *marae* were much more solemn than those of the *ruahine*, and the victims were usually turtle, dorados, bonitos, etc. The night and day before the sacrifice all those who were to take part in it had to observe continence, and everyone had to be fasting in order that the ceremony of sacrifice might be performed[5]. He gives an account of the solemnities observed in catching and at the *marae*. The fisherman who caught the fish took off the most brilliant scale and offered it to the god whose image was on the prow of the canoe, designating and consecrating the victim with a song, which Montiton sets out in Paumotuan and translates. Then a messenger invested himself with certain decorative objects which Montiton describes, and on hearing his voice all the other warriors did so also, and assembled at the *marae*, where the victim was brought on a coconut leaf, surrounded with cocoanuts and other dishes[6]. In the case of a turtle they cut off the most brilliant part of its enamel to pay homage to the divinity in it, and placed this in the little tabernacle in the canoe, and then brought the animal ashore[7]. I must only sketch very shortly what took place at the *marae*, the chief actors being the high priest and the king. All the people placed themselves in specified positions in specified attitudes, and the king was invested with certain ceremonial objects. The king then invoked all the gods—a long list is given of these—and afterwards called upon all the family gods; these prayers are set out in Paumotuan, with translations by Montiton, who says they were

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 346.
[2] Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 27.
[3] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 346.
[4] D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. II, i, p. 373.
[5] Montiton, vol. VI, pp. 366 *sq.*
[6] *Ibid.* p. 367.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 503.

repeated several times during the sacrifice. At one stage of the proceedings the king made a libation of coconut water to the idol, and a sacred stone of oval shape bearing the effigy of the god was placed on the stomach of the victim, which was lying on its back [he is evidently referring here to the turtle]. Ultimately the entrails were removed from the turtle and cooked, one portion going to the king which he divided and ate with his officers, and the rest going to the man who caught it and being distributed by him among the other people present. During the preliminary cooking, cutting to pieces, and final cooking of the turtle, the warriors sang various sacred hymns in an old language, incomprehensible to the generation of Montiton's time, accompanied by the beating of the long drum. Finally the head was given to the king, who ate it, and the man who had caught the turtle distributed the other parts among those present, who were regarded as sacred for the rest of the day[1]. I have given what may appear to be needless particulars of all this in order to show the extreme solemnity associated with the catching, offering to the god, cooking and eating, of turtles and, I imagine in a smaller degree, with that of certain special fish. Another sign of this may be seen in Seurat's statement that when there was a turtle on the reef, the god of the *marae* knew of it, and informed his priest, who commanded men to go and seek it[2].

Such little further information as I have been able to find concerning associations of animals with human or legendary beings has to be gathered from stories. In one of these tales, dealing with various matters, we find that the god Rii, a descendant of Tiki and Hina, was changed into a dog by Maui, who was jealous of the preference shown to Rii by a woman who was common to both of them, and after that Rii begat men and dogs successively[3]. I have found no statement that Rii was believed to be permanently incarnate in the dog. There was a tradition of some strangers arriving at Hao Island, in which it is said that the people of the island killed a dog, and took a portion of it to the travellers, who ate it; but when they afterwards learnt what they had eaten they were furious, the dog being, it was said, the venerated king of their tribe[4]. There was a story of a king of the island of Hao—a monster with four

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 378 *sq.* Cf. Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 135.
[2] Seurat, *L'Anthro.* vol. XVI, p. 477.
[3] Montiton, vol. VI, p. 343. Cf. Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 108.
[4] Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, pp. 91 *sq.* Cf. Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 38.

eyes—who did not eat shark, the large gurnet and tunny fish, and who worshipped the backbones of these animals as idols[1].

We have seen the Tahitian story of Tafa'i, who was carried across the seas by his ancestor, a shark, and who afterwards, in hades, in defence of his cousin who accompanied him, threatened Ui, the goddess of hades, who had caught the cousin with a hook, with the wrath of the shark. There was a comparable tradition as to Tafa'i in the Paumotu. His mother had been borne across the seas by two sharks; he went to the underworld with a companion; Ui in hades caught the companion with a fish-hook; and he threatened her with the anger of the shark. Afterwards he and his companion were borne across the seas by two sharks. The story tells of a conversation between the sharks who proposed to eat the companion, who, they said, was only a man, and of Tafa'i telling them not to do so, as the companion had twice helped him when in critical positions[2]. Here again, as in Tahiti, we find the helpful attitude of the sharks towards their friend; and though there is no suggestion of ancestry, the sharks distinguished between Tafa'i, whom they regarded as closely associated with them, and his friend who was a mere man, but ultimately, at his request, spared the friend.

I have found no definite statement pointing to Paumotuan beliefs as to the incarnation of the gods they worshipped, though there was a tradition in which the god Tu was identified with a large fish[3].

ROTUMA

I have found no reference to any incarnation of Rahou, the principal god of Rotuma; a sea god of the island was represented by the turtle; and the *hoang* gods were usually incarnate in some animal, of which the hammerheaded shark, the sandpiper, the gecko, the lizard and the sting-ray are given as examples. A man might freely kill any of these other than his own god; but the latter was taboo. If he had been unfortunate enough to kill his god accidentally he had to make a big feast, and cut off all his hair, and bury it, just as a man would be buried[4], thereby, I take it, symbolically offering himself as a sacrifice. The French missionaries also speak of deified fish and birds, and refer to the deification of all the great chiefs[5].

[1] Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 43, 47.
[2] *J.P.S.* vol. xx, pp. 175–8.
[3] Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 195 *sq.*
[4] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, pp. 467 *sq.*
[5] *A.P.F.* vol. xx, p. 363.

Mangeret says that ring doves (? *pigeons ramiers*) abounded in the island and were taboo[1]. In one district, its god Vuna was incarnate in an owl[2]. Matusa [apparently a Rotuman village] had for its god the sting-ray, which had its own priests[3]. According to Lesson, the Rotumans would not permit the killing of a rat, or a fly, or a serpent; and he says that serpents were specially reverenced[4]. In one place (apparently an adjacent island) there were two conical rocks, resembling works of art, being shaped like gigantic sugar loaves, and called by the people the king and queen. These were looked upon as the presiding deities of the island, and whenever people visited it, they made oblations to the rocks of kava, meat, vegetables, etc., and besmeared them plentifully with red turmeric, under the belief that, if they omitted to do so, the offended gods would raise a tempest and prevent them from leaving the island[5].

Rotuma offers examples of the idea that food taboo to ordinary people might be eaten with impunity by a chief. Any turtle or shark caught belonged to the chief; and any other person eating it without his leave would become sick and probably die unless he was propitiated with a suitable gift[6]. So also the shooting of a large species of rail called *kale* was taboo to all except the chiefs[7].

There are also illustrations of the practice for the totem god to show friendship and help to its worshipper. In the legend of Rahou, who appears to have been the most important of the dead chiefs of Rotuma, and who had made its first king and given its constitution and laws[8], we are told how he was guided in a canoe voyage from Samoa by two small black and red birds, which flew over his head, and then, after many days, began to sing by way of signal to him; whereupon he threw overboard a basket of sand, which he had taken out with him for the purpose, and immediately the island of Rotuma rose out of the sea, and Rahou and his canoe were on dry land[9]. So also it is stated that an old man of the family of the priests of the sting-ray insisted that these creatures used to come round him on the reef, and follow him about; and his tale was confirmed by others[10]. So again, Hocart was told of the spirit

[1] Mangeret, vol. II, p. 199.
[2] Hocart, *Man*, 1915, No. 75, p. 130.
[3] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII. p. 468.
[4] Lesson, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 437 *sq.*
[5] *Rovings*, vol. I, p. 197.
[6] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 427.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 487.
[8] *Ibid.* pp. 429, 404, 505.
[9] *Ibid.* pp. 503 *sq.*
[10] *Ibid.* p. 468.

animals of Rotuma that the animal was the *tu'uar*[1] of the *atua*; and that if a man died, and his *tu'uar* was the tropic bird, this bird would tell things, and it would come to the house of its worshipper and tell him of someone who was going to die[2]. The god of Maftau [apparently a village of Rotuma] was incarnate in the hammerheaded shark. It had a priest, termed an *apioiitu*, who officiated on all great occasions, and a priestess, called by the same name, whose business it was to cure sickness, and, indeed, to see to all minor troubles[3]. If the people were in trouble, or about to go to war, a big feast was held, and the best of everything—a root of kava, a pig, taro, yams, etc., and always a coconut leaf, were placed in the sea for the god, whilst a handsome gift of uncooked food was given to its priests. The god then, through the priest, spoke to the people, and its injunctions were followed[4]. As regards this question of help, Gardiner says that omens were carefully observed and regarded, and that they always consisted of something connected with the person's *atua*[5]; and from what we know of these omens in Samoa and elsewhere we may, I think, believe that the *atua* to which he refers was, or was seen in, an animal or object.

The custom for a totem to appear as an omen of death to his friend may possibly be seen in Hocart's statement (quoted above) that the animal of a man's *atua* would come to his house and tell him that *some one* [my italics] was going to die. They had in one part of Rotuma some gods or spirits of a lower class, one incarnate in the reef eel, and another in a particular species of shark, the mere sight of which would produce death. There, opposite two rocks outside the reef, no lights might be shown at night, and all doors facing the sea had to be shut. No one, passing along, might have a lighted torch, for, if he did, he would surely hear the drums sounding, and die. On some nights also there was a fishy smell, caused by the cutting up by the god of some dead man for food. Some of these gods had a home under the sea, from which coconuts with only two eyes were occasionally washed up on the beach; touching or eating these coconuts would cause the offender to swell up and die[6]. A characteristic about these lower-class deities was that they did nothing but evil, and delighted in causing sickness

[1] That means the "vessel" (*Man*, 1915, No. 75, p. 130 *note*; *J.A.I.* vol. XLII, p. 442), or, as I may call it, the incarnation.
[2] Hocart, *Man*, 1915, No. 75, p. 130.
[3] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, pp. 467 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 468.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 469 *sq.*
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 468 *sq.*

and death[1]. The belief that the sight of the animal *produced* death might be the equivalent of an idea that it was an omen of death; but it is also possible that this evidence merely points to beliefs as to some very malicious gods.

The idea of descent from a totem animal is possibly seen in the story of two sisters in a district who conceived in a miraculous way by a great god incarnate in the frigate bird, in consequence of which the frigate bird was taboo to the people of the district[2], though we are not told that these people believed themselves to be the offspring of these unions. Another story was of two girls who fell into the sea and were changed into two turtles, one red and the other white. These were called *eao*; they lived in the deep crevices of the coral under the rock, and could be called up at any time by singing a song, which with a translation of it, is given[3]. This is a case of descent of a species of animal from a person who has been changed into that animal form.

NIUE

Thomson says that in the island of Niue traces of totemism were found in certain animals being sacred to the people of certain villages; but adds that these animals, at any rate in late heathen times, were not regarded as incarnations of the tutelary god. As an example of this, he explains that though Langaiki was the god of Alofi, the owl (*lulu*), which was taboo in that village, was not his incarnation[4]. I do not quite follow his reasoning; he should say whether or not this particular god had some other incarnation; and the owl, even if the tutelar god of the village had no incarnation, may have been that of some other god worshipped largely in the village. According to Smith, *lulu* (the owl) was semi-sacred in Niue, the people seeming rather to fear it, and objecting to catch it[5]. Tregear gives what was said to be a song so old that few, if any, of the younger people could understand it. This song, in praise of Tangaroa, was in six sections or verses, and after each of these came a chorus "The turtle and the shark are sacred fish that dwell in the ocean. O Tangaroa from the far-off sky"[6]. These two animals therefore probably possessed special sanctity in the past. Thomson says the small lizard *moko* was sacred

[1] *Ibid.* p. 466.
[2] Hocart, *Man*, 1915, No. 75, p. 130.
[3] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 514.
[4] Thomson, *S.I.* p. 93.
[5] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XXI, p. 102.
[6] Tregear, *J.P.S.* vol. IX, pp. 234 *sq.*

throughout the island, and suggests that it was the original totem of the first castaways there[1]; but Smith says the natives did not seem to have the intense dread of it found among the Maori[2]. Sa-le-vao, a well-known Samoan god, was worshipped under the equivalent name of Ha-le-vao in Niue; and Smith says that this was the ancient symbolical name for *peka*, the flying fox[3]. I have referred to the Tongan custom of catching pigeons with hand-nets, and to the fact that this method was said by Mariner to have died out to a great extent, and have suggested that there may have been some ceremonious sanctity or importance attaching to this sport, such as there was in Samoa, where also the custom had only survived in certain places. A similar question arises concerning Niue, where, according to Smith, the name *lupe* was that of the large wood pigeon—he distinguishes what he calls a dove by another name; he says that *formerly* [my italics] the *lupe* were caught by decoy birds and nets, this being an occupation or amusement of the chiefs, as it was in Samoa[4]. He also refers to this pigeon, the tropic bird, the flying fox, the crab, the Porphyrio bird and the rat, as each having not only its own ordinary name, but also what he calls its "symbolical" name, and he gives these latter names[5]. Smith does not explain what he means by this; but I should imagine that the giving of what might be termed symbolical names to certain animals would point to beliefs as to their sanctity. One of these names, *Ha-le-vao*, given to *peka* (the flying fox) was, as we have seen, the name of a Niuean god; but none of the others are names of gods known to me.

FOTUNA

I have found no actual reference to any incarnate gods in the island of Fotuna. There were certain lizards which inspired the people with horror, and which they dared not touch, although the animals were quite harmless[6]; and it may be that these were regarded as gods, though we are not told so. On the other hand, in one place people used to handle snakes two or three fathoms long, young people putting them round their necks[7]; and this confidence of the harmlessness of the snake may have been connected with some totemic idea. Turtles must, I think, have been sacred, for no one but the head chief

[1] Thomson, *S.I.* pp. 93 *sq.*
[2] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 105.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. XII, p. 28.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. XI, p. 101; cf. p. 217.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. XII, p. 28.
[6] Mangeret, vol. I, p. 233.
[7] *Ibid.*

of the *malo* [victorious] party had a right to any of these animals caught off the coast, and in killing them some ceremony was required for the purpose, as we are told, of removing the taboo. There was a special place near the royal residence set apart for the killing; in this the fire for cooking them was prepared; and when all was ready the head chief or king donned his insignia of rank, the end of a coconut leaf passed round his neck, a piece of white tapa worn as a bracelet round his arm, and in his right hand a small strip of bamboo with which he struck each morsel of the turtle as it was presented to him[1]. A connection, in Fotuna, of the god Tangaroa with a creature that had a long tail is indicated by Caillot's statement that the word *tangaroa* signified intestinal worm in a human body, and also a sea-worm[2].

UVEA

In Uvea certain species of fish and most of the birds were regarded as sacred. The sanctity of some was extended to the whole island; but there were *interdictions* [my italics] which only extended to one village, and others limited to an individual[3]. This statement points to island, village and personal totems or incarnate gods; and the reference to interdictions must be taken to imply that people did not eat their own sacred animal. There is another statement that, when a child was born, it received a name which was never that of its father, but that of a bird, a fish, or some other selected term (*toute autre expression choisie*)[4].

TOKELAU

The great god Tuitokelau, though generally regarded as living in the skies, was also seen in an uncarved stone; and beside this was another smaller stone of another god[5].

In the island of Fakaofo (Bowditch Island), of the Tokelau group, "in addition to the generally recognized gods, of whom there were many," certain animals were supposed to possess supernatural powers, and were called *aitu*. The *feki* (octopus) was the *aitu* of certain families, who always abstained from catching or eating it. The *pusi* (muraena) was another family *aitu*[6]. It is said the sacred conger was worshipped by the king

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. I, pp. 40 *sq.*
[2] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 251, note 1.
[3] *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 19.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 17.
[5] Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. XXI, pp. 50 *sq.*
[6] *Ibid.* p. 51.

and people of this island; and in 1863 about eighty of the inhabitants were expelled from the island, some of them being killed, because they had eaten it[1]. When a priest was consulted as to the probable cause of a man's death, he would sometimes say that the man had eaten fish which was the incarnation of his family god[2].

ELLICE ISLANDS

In the Nukulaelae islands of the Ellice group household gods were incarnate in certain birds and fishes, and no one dared to eat the incarnation of his god[3]. In Nukufetau and Nanomanga Islands household gods were incarnate in fishes[4]. In Nui they were incarnate in fishes and birds[5]. In Funafuti the flesh of the turtle was taboo to all except the king, and any captor had to bring it to the king immediately, and was heavily fined if he tasted it himself. When the king received the turtle it was laid on its back, with its head turned towards the door of the house, and the king, wrapped in fine mats, pronounced over it an incantation, the words of which are given by Hedley[6]. He then divided it between himself and his relations[7]. Mrs David says that there only men were allowed to kill, dress, cook and eat the turtle, and this was done with much ceremony and singing[8]. There was a tradition there that the island was first inhabited by a porcupine, whose progeny became men and women[9]; this may have been an example of belief in descent from a totem; but the name of their principal god—Foilape—had nothing to do with the porcupine.

TONGAREVA

In Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) cuttle-fishes were worshipped; and though one or two natives were persuaded by the missionaries to eat them, the others fully expected to see the delinquents swell up to an enormous size and burst[10]. Turtles also might only be eaten by men[11]. Lamont relates his experiences of a turtle feast, beginning with what occurred on the sea-shore, where the turtle had been placed lying on its back, and a

[1] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 279. [2] Turner, p. 272.
[3] Turner, p. 280. Cf. Sollas, *Nature*, 1897, p. 355.
[4] Turner, pp. 285, 289. [5] *Ibid.* p. 301.
[6] Hedley, pp. 65 *sq.* Cf. Mrs David, p. 190; Sollas, *Nature*, 1897, p. 355.
[7] Sollas, *Nature*, 1897, p. 355. [8] Mrs David, p. 190.
[9] Turner, p. 281. [10] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 289. [11] Gill, *Jottings*, p. 147.

person whom he believed to be a chief, began, as it seemed, by gestures and shouting, to threaten an imaginary being at sea. He understood that the turtle had in it a spirit which had been driven out of it by one of the priests, and the warrior was threatening it with vengeance if it tried to return. The turtle was then taken to the *marae*, and after some ceremonies (not described by Lamont) it was beheaded and disembowelled, and was sacrificed to the gods on a fire prepared on an elevation of stones. Later on, not apparently in the *marae*, the turtle was eaten, but, as I gather, the recipients were only a priest and two chiefs and Lamont himself. Lamont threw some bits to the two chiefs' wives, but they fled in terror, shouting "*Hui e atua!*" and the two chiefs held Lamont's hands and shook their heads gravely, repeating the same words, which, he says, were equivalent to taboo. After these ceremonies Lamont became a person of great importance, and from this time onwards he bore the title of *ariki*[1]. This is another example of the ceremonies required for eating turtle; it is clear that they regarded the turtle as being, or being associated with, an *atua*, and apparently the admission of Lamont to share in the meal was a public recognition that he was a chief.

Porpoises also might only be eaten by men, and it was thought that if a woman ate this food her children would have porpoise faces[2]. Lamont says that land-crabs and lobsters were held in the greatest abhorrence by the natives because they ate filth[3]; this probably means that the people would not eat them, and the reason given may have been correct, but, according to Gill, the robber-crab and a species of land-crab called *tupa* were sacred[4]. He also says that conger-eels were sacred[5]; and Lamont says that his party had killed some white-spotted eels (*puse*), and that one or two of the party who had been handling the eels, and were suspected of having eaten them, were not allowed to enter the houses of the natives for some time afterwards[6].

MANAHIKI AND RAKAHANGA

Among Gill's papers was found a note that the people of Manahiki and Rakahanga had many minor gods, such as fish, for a certain class of people would not eat shark, turtle, *te-umu-tangaroa*, *maranoa*, *neue*, *totara*, *pui* (sea-snake) or *koura* (cray-

[1] Lamont, pp. 182 *sq.*
[2] Gill, *Jottings*, p. 147.
[3] Lamont, p. 160.
[4] Gill, *Jottings*, p. 147.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Lamont, p. 193.

fish); and some would not eat birds, such as the *kotoa* or the *kaveu*[1]. The first part of this statement might point merely to a class distinction, but, taking this in conjunction with what follows, I am inclined to think that different groups of people had their own food taboos. A Rakahangan account of the flood attributes it to the king Taoiau, who was incensed against his people for not bringing him the sacred turtle, and thereupon prayed the sea gods to rise up[2]; so evidently this animal was regarded as sacred and the property of kings.

EASTER ISLAND

I do not propose to introduce into this chapter the consideration of imitative designs of animals and objects found in Easter Island, this involving matters other than that of totemism. I shall confine myself to statements touching the animals themselves. The bird, the obtaining of whose eggs was the main feature of the great annual ceremony to which I have already referred, was the *manu-tara*, which Mrs Routledge identifies with the sooty tern[3]. Mrs Routledge was told that Ngaara, the great chief of the important Miru group, never ate rats, and once, when he saw a Miru man watching rats being cooked, he was extremely angry, for if the man had eaten them his power of producing chickens would have diminished, presumably, she adds, because he would have imbibed ratty nature, which was disastrous to eggs and young chickens[4]. I may say, in explanation of this, that the Miru people were credited with a supernatural power of increasing all food supplies, especially that of chickens[5]. Mrs Routledge's suggested explanation may well be absolutely correct, in which case no question of totemism comes in; but, on the other hand, it is possible that the rat had some totemic relationship with the Miru people or the family of their head chiefs. Mrs Routledge also tells a legend of a man who had eaten a big *heke*, which, she says, seems to have been an octopus (which no doubt it was), and who went mad in consequence[6]. This may have been a tradition of the eating of a totem god; but as I do not know the probable physical consequences of eating an octopus, I am unable to say how far a simpler explanation is possible. Palmer refers to a god whose name meant "the place

[1] Gill's papers, *J.P.S.* vol. XXIV, p. 150. [2] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 38.
[3] Mrs Routledge, p. 258. [4] *Ibid.* p. 242. [5] *Ibid.* p. 240. [6] *Ibid.* p. 238.

of the great centipede"[1]. According to Geiseler, the people did not catch turtles[2]. Thomson says they were plentiful and "highly esteemed," and at a certain season a watch for them was constantly maintained on the sand beach[3]. He refers to two round towers built on the cliffs for the purpose of observing the movements of the turtles, each tower being in the neighbourhood of tombs of the dead. Near one of these towers there were numerous, more or less circular, artificially excavated depressions on the ledges of the volcanic rock, these depressions averaging 3 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. in depth, which he thought must be live-boxes for preservation of fish, though he could get no information on the matter. The natives believed that any one who walked over these rocks would be afflicted with sore feet, and warned Thomson's people of this several times[4]. I think we must believe from this that the turtle may have been eaten, and the circular holes in the rocks may well have been intended for preserving them, and perhaps some sacred fish, alive; the belief as to sore feet seems to point to an idea that the rocks where these turtles were kept were taboo.

In a story told by Mrs Routledge an old woman is said to have turned herself into, or in some way to have been, a crab, but we do not know whether she afterwards assumed human form again[5].

TIKOPIA

I must commence the consideration of Tikopia by referring to what has appeared in a previous chapter. We have seen that Gaimard (quoted by d'Urville) said that in 1828 the island contained four villages, Lavenha, Namo, Outa and Faea, and that there were four principal chiefs, Kafeka (chief of Lavenha), Tafoua (chief of Namo), Fanharere (chiefdom not stated) and Taoumako (chiefdom not stated). Then, according to the recent investigation by Rivers, the people of the island were divided into four divisions, called respectively the Kafika, the Taumako, the Tafua and the Fangarere, each of these groups having its own district (though apparently, according to information obtained elsewhere, the groups were geographically mixed) and its own chief, called by the name of his group. I attach but little importance to certain differences in names of districts or villages, to which I have already drawn attention, and inter-

[1] Palmer, *J.E.S.*, *N.S.* vol. I, p. 372.
[2] Geiseler, p. 5.
[3] W. J. Thomson, p. 458.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 484, 486.
[5] Mrs Routledge, pp. 237 *sq.*

mixture of groups is found more or less all over Polynesia. The point to which I draw attention is that, assuming that chiefs were called by the names of their respective groups—which again is a common practice, at all events in parts of Polynesia —the names of the four groups given by Gaimard and Rivers are, subject to little differences in spelling, identical; so we have a good foundation upon which to base our consideration of the group distribution of worship.

Rivers obtained his information as to the incarnate *atua* of these four groups from two separate sources. According to one of these, each of the four divisions had associated with it certain animals or plants called *atua*, a word also used for ancestors, and while most of these *atua* belonged to special divisions, some were common to the whole community. The Kafika had as *atua* the *feke* or octopus, which they might not eat, a prohibition shared by them with the whole population, though the animal was regarded as especially sacred to the Kafika. They also had as an *atua* the *kape*, a plant resembling taro, and this might not be eaten by themselves, whilst it was free to the other people. The Taumako might not eat the *toke* or sea-eel and a pigeon called *rupe*[1], both prohibitions being limited to this division. The Tafua might eat neither the *tuna* (fresh-water eel), the flying fox (*peka*) nor the turtle (*fonu*). The first restriction was limited to the Tafua, but the flying fox was prohibited to all though regarded as especially sacred to the Tafua. It seemed clear that the turtle once occupied the same position and was eaten by none of the people, but recently the common people of divisions other than the Tafua had begun to eat it, though the chiefs still abstained; this departure from the old custom was, Rivers thinks, perhaps quite recent. The Fangarere did not eat a fish called *one* or *onu* and a small black bird called *moko*, these prohibitions being limited to this division. No one might eat the sting-ray and it did not appear to be sacred to any one division. A person who might not eat an animal might also not kill it; if for instance one of the Fangarere caught an *one* fish he would usually throw it back, but he might sometimes give it to a member of another division. On the other hand, Rivers was told that if a man of one division killed the sacred animal of another he would fall sick, and would send for a man of the division to which the animal belonged, who would make him well by calling on his

[1] This is the same as *lupe*, meaning a pigeon, or a special sort of pigeon.

atua. This apparent contradiction was, Rivers thought, probably due to his informant having in mind in the latter case those animals which were regarded as more or less sacred to the whole community, and in accordance with this, it was said that if anyone killed a flying fox the coconut trees would cease to bear, while if the fresh-water eel sacred to the Tafua were killed, the spring supplying the pool where it lived would become dry. It was clear that these animals had collectively the same name as ancestors and were regarded as such, but the descent was from men who had turned into animals rather than from the animals themselves. The Kafika and Taumako believed in their descent from men who had turned after death into an octopus in the one case and an eel in the other. The Tafua believed in their descent from a man who became a flying fox, but had the tradition that a second man of their division became after death a fresh-water eel. Similarly, two men of the Fangarere changed, one to the *one* fish and the other to the *moko* bird. In addition to the prohibitions connected with these *atua*, three of the divisions were prohibited from eating certain plants, the yam, the taro and the coconut, and these were also called *atua*[1]. When the people went for journeys in their canoes they threw food as an offering into the sea continually; but it was said that these offerings were made to ancestral *atua* which entered into fish, especially the shark and the *one*[2].

The following is the information obtained by Rivers from the other source, to which I have referred. He was told that they were the *atua* of the chiefs; but thinks that probably most of them also belonged to all the members of each division.

The *atua* of the Kafika were: *Te riringo* (a very large black sting-ray, so large that one was said to have been known to catch a man); *te kuku* and *te panoko* (two small fish); the crocodile (small specimens sometimes finding their way to Tikopia).

On the arrival of the missionary ship *Southern Cross* off Tikopia in 1910, a canoe belonging to the chief of the Taumako kept too close to the steamer and was overturned. The people some way off saw the accident and saw at the same time a huge black sting-ray. They shouted, "Look! Kafika is coming here." Then they threw four coconuts into the sea and the sting-ray went away.

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 303 *sq.* [2] *Ibid.* p. 315.

The *atua* of the Tafua were: A very large eel of the lake called "*Te atua Tafua*"; the ceremony of installing the present (1910) chief of the Tafua division took place in the sacred place of Tikopia beside the lake when the new chief made offerings to the eel; a large eel of the sea; *te peka* (the flying fox); *te vai* (a sting-ray); a kind of taro which was eaten by anyone, but the Tafua chief might not look at it, and when going past it he would turn aside his head; the sword-fish (garfish?); the chief and his eldest son might not eat it, but his younger children might do so. The distinctive decoration of the chief was the leaf of *te katafa*, a sort of palm, twisted and worn around the neck.

The following were *atua* of the Taumako: *Te peka* (the flying fox); *te riringo* (a red sting-ray); a white eel of the sea; a black sea-eel; *te pupumatao* (a long fish, the Mota *utu*); *te raparapa* (a small fish, the Mota *garegare*); *te rupe* (pigeon); *te karai* (a rail, the Mota *matika*).

Rivers refers to an occasion in 1910 when the *Southern Cross*, with the Bishop on board, was expected to arrive. The sea was rough, so the Taumako chief made offerings of kava and food to the red sting-ray and black sea-eel that they might take care of the Bishop and his ship. Separate packets of food were prepared for each of these two *atua*, and held up, first one and afterwards the other, by the chief, as he prayed to the god.

The *atua* of the Fangarere were: *Te fono* (the turtle); *te varovo* (a long fish, the Mota *one*); *te tafora* (the porpoise?); *te punapu* (a black fish with a red tail); *te iofa* (a fish with a large head which moves like a flying fox flapping). It was a very important *atua*. Whenever the chief wished to invoke its help he laid down a piece of bark-cloth on the floor of one side of the house, this cloth being spoken of as the property of the *atua*. It remained there for five days and the chief made offerings of food to the *atua*. After the five days were passed the chief hung the cloth up again. There were several (about ten) pieces of bark-cloth hanging in the house. Sometimes the chief smeared one with red turmeric and sometimes he used only the plain cloth. The offering was made to induce the *atua* to give back the health of a sick man whose life was supposed to have been taken away[1].

I am not, speaking generally, dealing with possible plant totems at present; I draw attention, however, to a statement

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, pp. 334–8.

by Rivers that all yams were sacred to the Kafika, but that it was the top of the yam that was specially regarded as an *atua*[1]; as this may be another case of a split totem.

Gaimard, having stated that some, if not all, of the people adopted a god selected from the animals[2], goes on to say that each chief had his own god, and he gives the names of these chiefs, Kafeka, Taoumako, Tafoua and Fanharéré[3]. The god of Kafeka was a fish, the name of which was not ascertained. Taoumako's god was the *muraena* or sea-eel. Tafoua's god was a dogfish (*? rousette* seems to have several meanings—dogfish, sea dog, large bat), to which is added, in parentheses, *chauve-souris*, a bat (which might well refer to a flying fox). The god of Fanharéré was "the god of the sky, called *atua* only"[4]. Gaimard also says that there were certain fish *atua*, which pricked the feet of their worshippers when they went into the water of the reef for shellfish[5]; and, speaking of the sea-eel, he tells us that when the natives saw one of these lying on board the French ship, they dispersed in religious terror, and adds that English sailors spoke of it as being one of the island gods to whom the greatest reverence was paid[6].

ONGTONG JAVA

Parkinson tells us of a class of spirits recognized by the people of Ongtong Java as dwelling in the sea or in the air, on the coral reef or on special islands, and called collectively *kipua*, those dwelling in the sea having their servants, the *keagai*. Among these *kipua* was Peave who, with his wife and son and daughter, lived in the bed of the ocean, and the *keagai* were intermediaries between them and the living. On an invocation being reported by a *keagai* to Peave he sent his two children, in the forms of dolphins, to ascertain if the petitioners were accompanying their request with the necessary dances and festivities; and if satisfied with the report brought back to him he sent the islanders fish in plenty. If the report was not favourable, he sent storm floods instead. Another *kipua* was Rehu, who lived in the coral reef; he was instigated by the souls of the dead to punish those of their relations with whom they were angry, which he did by sending a shark to eat them up. Another *kipua* was named Kui, who was in the form of

[1] *Ibid.* p. 317. [2] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. v, p. 304. [3] *Ibid.* p. 307.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* p. 313. [6] *Ibid.* pp. 119 *sq.*

a bird, and lived on one of the islets. When a common man (*keago hegua*) died his soul went to Kui and implored him to kill a certain sea-gull (*heiai*). If he granted this request he bound the talons (*sic*) of the dead bird on the head of the soul, and such souls were thenceforth able to visit the various islands of the group in the form of birds. Certain men and women possessed the gift of recognizing the souls of the dead flying about in bird form, and they were called *kau le iku*[1]. Parkinson says that on the death of a *makua*, or one of those equal to him in rank, one of the features of the funeral rites was for the widows of the deceased man, after the burial, to cover their heads with a plaited construction of coconut leaves, go to the shore, and wander about there from sunrise to sunset until they saw a shoal of dolphins coming; then only were they allowed to live in daytime in their huts. Whilst the women were wandering men avoided meeting them, and the women at nightfall had to go noiselessly to their huts, beginning their wanderings again at sunrise[2]. I gather that the *makua* class came after that of the highest chief and his relations and the priests were regarded as being of equal rank with them[3]. I find no reference to the sanctity of turtles, but here, as in other islands, they were kept in special pools, and there was a practice of removing plates of shell from them, though there is no indication that this was done, as in the Paumotu, for ceremonial purposes[4].

DUFF ISLANDS

In Taumako, of the Duff group, the people were, according to information received from two men of the island, apparently divided into clans, named after fish. For instance, one of these men belonged to the shark (*pakewa*) clan, and its members were forbidden to kill or eat a shark; the other of them belonged to the ray (? *alala*) clan. There were also a turtle (*fonu*) clan, and the clan of a long fish (*takua*). I imagine that the food taboo referred to concerning the shark clan applied to the other clans and their respective animals, though this is not stated. None of the clans might kill or eat the fowl *kio*[5].

[1] R. Parkinson, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, pp. 196 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 203 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 198.
[4] Woodford, *Geo. Journ.* vol. XLVIII, p. 34.
[5] Fox, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVI, p. 190.

NEW HEBRIDES ISLANDS

There was a Futunan custom, referred to by Gunn, of honouring their dead in mourning songs by calling them by the names of certain things highly esteemed, such as the finest yams or sugar-cane (not common yams), foreign fish-hooks (not the inferior native forms), a feathery plume (never an ordinary comb), the name of a dove—the bird of the chiefs—and other birds. This figurative mode of expression seems to have prevailed, though less markedly, in Aneiteum also[1]. I draw attention to the statement above that the "dove" was the bird of the chiefs. We are not told that this was any specific form of pigeon, but we may compare the statement with what we have seen in Samoa and elsewhere. In Aniwa the god Matshiktshike—believed to have fished up the island—was seen in the sea-serpent, and the people lived in abject terror of his influence, and directed their worship towards propitiating him[2]. Where there were no snakes they applied the superstition about the serpent to a large black poisonous lizard called *kekvau*, and the natives of several of the islands had the form of a lizard, as also of the snake and a bird, cut deep into the flesh of their arms[3]. In Futuna Gunn's children killed a sea-snake and brought it to the mission-house, and on seeing it the natives yelled and fled outside the house[4]. In Aniwa the turtle was regarded as chief's food, and only men might cook it[5].

We find forms of the story of the cutting off of an eel's head, and of its growing into or producing a coconut tree, in both Aniwa and Tanna. In the former island it was Tangaroa whose head was cut off, but he was identified with a gigantic eel or sea-snake[6]. In Tanna also it was Tangaroa; and here also he appears to have been regarded as of eel or snake-like form, and at all events he had a tail which he wagged[7].

[1] Gunn, p. 239. [2] Paton, p. 157. [3] *Ibid.* p. 159.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 183. [5] *Ibid.* pp. 341 *sq.*
[6] Ray, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, pp. 150 *sqq.* [7] *Ibid.* p. 151.

CHAPTER XXII

TOTEMISM (CONTINUED)

SPIRITS OF THE DEAD BECOMING OR ENTERING INTO ANIMALS

I HAVE been dealing up to this point with beliefs and practices concerning animals and other objects, more especially in connection with their association with the gods; and I have also introduced evidence as to these animals and objects in which no mention is made of such an association. I now propose to refer to some statements as to Polynesian beliefs that after a man's death his spirit sometimes either adopted an animal or other form or entered into an animal or object. I shall not refer again to the beliefs, reported from some of the islands, as to living people who had turned or been changed into animals; but these cases approach closely to the idea we are going to consider, and probably the underlying conception was the same or nearly so.

Von Bülow says that in Samoa the spirit of a dead man could appear on earth as an *aitu* in any form it liked—animate or inanimate—man, animal, plant, stone. If a living Samoan recognized the spirit of his ancestor in a living thing or inanimate object it was reverenced as a *tupua*—a family, clan or national god[1]. He tells a story of one of the Malietoa, a great fisherman, who one day found in his nets no fish, but only an owl, which he set free. The same thing happened twice again, so he regarded it as the spirit of his ancestors—*i.e.* the family *aitu*; he took it home, extensive food offerings were made to it, and he made the owl his *tupua* or god[2]. According to Turner, on the beach, near where a person had been drowned, his body being supposed to have become a porpoise, or on the battle-field, where a man had fallen, a group of five or six people would sit, one of them being a little in front of the others, and having a sheet of native cloth spread out on the ground before him. He would pray to a family god that they might obtain the spirit of the dead man, and the first thing

[1] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 367. [2] *Ibid.* p. 365.

that alighted upon the sheet was supposed to be the spirit. If nothing came it was supposed that the spirit had some ill-will to the person praying, so one of the others tried. By-and-by something came—a grasshopper, butterfly, ant, or something else—and it was wrapped up in the cloth, and the bundle was buried with all ceremony, as if it contained the real spirit of the departed[1]. Stair says nothing about the case of the drowned man and the porpoise, and only refers to that of a man who had died a violent death, and the haunting by whose disembodied spirit was a source of fear. He says it was an ant or some other insect that would crawl upon the cloth, and that it was buried along with the corpse of the dead man, and was supposed to have received his spirit, so that there was no more cause for fear[2]. Krämer refers to the practice of wrapping up in *tapa* the little animals into which the souls of the dead were supposed to have passed[3]; his description of the ceremony connected with a man who had died a violent death is somewhat similar to those given above, the animals mentioned by him being some animal, grasshopper, cockchafer, ant, etc., and he says the animal was supposed to have been entered by the soul of the dead man[4]. Ella also, in referring to the custom, says that it was the first "reptile, insect, or other creature" that crawled on to the cloth that was buried, and that they thought the spirit had appeared in that animal form[5]. According to Stevenson, the spirits of the dead—apparently only or mainly those that had not been buried—haunted the place where they fell, appearing in the shapes of pigs, birds, or insects[6]. Stevenson refers to a recent war, in which many fell in the bush, and their bodies, sometimes headless, had been brought back and buried. This, however, was not enough, and the spirits still lingered; but when peace was made the kinswomen of the dead went to the places where the struggle had taken place, carrying with them mats or sheets. They spread the sheet on the ground where a warrior had fallen and watched it. If any living thing alighted on the sheet, it was twice brushed away; but if it came a third time, it was known to be the spirit of the dead man, and was folded in the sheet, carried home, and buried with the body. It was believed that then the spirit rested[7].

[1] Turner, pp. 150 *sq.*
[2] Stair, p. 184. Cf. Brown, pp. 218 *sq.*
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 138.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 107.
[5] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 641. Cf. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. I, p. 490.
[6] Stevenson, *S.S.* p. 187.
[7] *Ibid.* pp. 196 *sq.*

In Tonga it was, as we have seen, believed that the spirits of the dead revisited the earth as birds, fish, etc.; and the tropic-bird, kingfisher and sea-gull, and the sea-eel, shark and whale were all sacred in consequence of this belief.

In the island of Ra'iatea, of the Society group, there was a belief that the souls of the dead buried there were, at a subsequent stage of their existence, converted into cockroaches[1]; but it is not said that they ever appeared on earth in that form. According to Moerenhout, the souls of children, killed at birth, were believed in Tahiti to appear in the form of grasshoppers (*sauterelles*)[2]. He also says the people believed that a man's spirit often returned to earth in the body of the animal he had reverenced in life, appearing near the places where he had lived; mothers of children who had died often approached such animals with tenderness, spoke to them, fed them, invited them to come often, and wept on letting them go. If the man fell ill, the approach of this animal was an omen of death[3]. There is a record of the first half of the last century of a chief who had been drowned; shortly afterwards a shark appeared on the spot, and subsequently it was continually about the place. The people asserted that it was their drowned chief, and held it in fear and veneration[4].

In Mangaia—and possibly in other islands of the Hervey group—it was believed that the spirits of the dead assumed temporarily, and for specific purposes, the forms of insects, birds, fish, clouds, etc.[5] In Mangaia the chirp of a kind of cricket, rarely seen, but continually heard at night, was believed to be the voice of the warriors slain in battle, calling to their friends[6]; and in the neighbourhood of the burial chasm of Auraka, in that island, there were quantities of a species of red fly, found nowhere else on the island, covering the rocks and bushes, and these were regarded as the guardians of the cave and of the dead[7]. There is no suggestion that they thought that these flies were or had been entered by the souls of the dead, but it is possible that this was so.

It was believed in the Marquesas—I do not know in which of the islands—that the souls of the priests did not go to Avaiki, but ascended to the sky. Each soul rose in the form of a large night-moth, and increased in size till it became a

[1] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 522.
[2] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 454.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 457.
[4] *Rovings*, vol. I, p. 228.
[5] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 26.
[6] Gill, *Myths*, p. 162.
[7] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 79.

large bird. A lad who killed one of these night-moths would be rebuked for killing the god. Crickets were often recognized as being the souls of other dead people. A person hearing its chirping would interrogate it as to whether it was a dead brother, husband, etc.[1] There appear to have been beliefs in Nukuhiva that the whale (*paaoa*) and the ray (*moko*) had been human beings[2]; and the ideas of the people are illustrated by a legend of a Marquesan girl who became pregnant by a Tahitian chief, whom she afterwards discovered to be a rat, and whom she therefore believed to be a spirit returned from the dead[3].

There was a Paumotuan belief that many of the souls of the dead escaped the fate that lay before them by hiding in the bodies of birds; people hearing the cries at night of certain birds were frightened, because they thought the birds were returning spirits[4].

Hocart says it was believed in Rotuma that the souls of the dead might reappear in the forms of either men or animals[5]. He also refers to some stories about *atua*—which, he says, means in Rotuma a dead man—of whom one called Kure, was said to have been a man who had died long ago. Without repeating the tales I may say that in one of them Kure was present "inside a pig" at a feast, and it is said that he could turn himself into a snake or a fish; another story is of a great *atua* Ravak, by whom two sisters had miraculous conceptions, and one of the sons became, or entered into, a frigate bird[6].

In Niue soon after a man's death a mat was spread on the ground near the body, and the first thing that alighted on it—an insect, lizard, etc.—was believed to be the spirit of the departed, and it was wrapped up, taken away and buried[7].

In Fotuna (Horne Island) the belief as to the soul of a man who had fallen in battle was that the first creature that alighted on a mat laid out for the purpose had in it the soul of the departed, and the burial of the mat with the creature in it near the corpse, was the same as in Samoa; in this case the animal is spoken of as an insect or reptile; but they included in their belief any bird which flew over the mat and whose shadow fell upon it[8].

[1] Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. xxv, p. 496.
[2] Lesson, *Poly.* vol. II, p. 233.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 227.
[4] Caillot, *Ann. hydro.* vol. xxi, p. 181. Cf. Arbousset, p. 289.
[5] Hocart, *Man*, 1915, No. 5, p. 11.
[6] *Ibid.* No. 75, p. 130.
[7] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. xi, pp. 206 *sq.* Cf. Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, p. 139.
[8] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. i, pp. 39 *sq.*

Lister says (1889) that in Fakaofu, of the Tokelau group, they had no idea of transmigration into animal bodies[1].

In Easter Island there was a legend of a leader chief named Tu-ku-i-u who at his death vanished from earth in the shape of a butterfly; and it is said that even now (1868) this insect is shouted after by children by that name[2].

Rivers tells us that in Tikopia, whilst their animal *atua* had collectively the same name as ancestors, and were regarded as such, the descent was from men who had turned into animals, rather than from the animals themselves[3].

We have seen that in Ongtong Java the spirit of a common man who had died would, if it was successful in its appeal to the great spirit, be able to revisit the island in the form of a bird, and that some people could recognize the souls of the dead in birds; and the practice, to which I have referred, for the widows of a dead man to wander about the shore until they saw a shoal of dolphins may have had some connection associating the spirit of the dead man with the dolphins. It might be, for instance, that they thought the spirits of the dead entered into dolphins, and that the idea was that the shoal came to fetch that of the man who had just died.

I draw attention to a few features in the Samoan evidence, though they have no obvious bearing upon the point specially under consideration. One of these is von Bülow's statement that the fisherman recognized the owl as the "spirit of his ancestors," which is not quite the same as the incarnation of any one of them; another is the fact that it was only the third owl caught that he recognized as being this spirit, which may be compared with Stevenson's account of the cloth ceremony at which it was only the third appearance of a creature that caused it to be recognized; another is Turner's statement that the drowned man's body was supposed to have become a porpoise, whilst his spirit was in the little creature that alighted on the mat.

OBSERVATIONS

A number of the beliefs, customs and practices referred to in this and the preceding chapters are the same as, or similar to, those which we find associated with true totemism. The evidence discloses beliefs as to descent from the sacred object, and in

[1] Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. XXI, p. 51.
[2] Palmer, *J.R.G.S.* vol. XL, pp. 180 *sq.* Cf. Palmer, *J.E.S.*, N.S. vol. I, p. 375.
[3] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 304.

some cases human beings were supposed to have been derived from the object in some other way. There are examples of women giving birth to animals and of the latter having had a human origin in another way. There are numerous examples of a man's unwillingness to eat, or even kill, his sacred object, though other persons, to whom it was not sacred, would not hesitate at doing so; but in some cases this restriction did not apply to certain classes, or it could be removed by a previous act. There are many illustrations of the friendly, and often helpful attitude of the object towards the people to whom it was sacred. And finally we have evidence of its acting as an omen or forewarner of death.

As already intimated, I do not propose to enter in this book into the discussion of the probable connection between the idea of a god incarnate or immanent in some animal or other object and a true totem; but it can hardly be doubted that, whatever that connection may have been, the beliefs and practices of the Polynesians with reference to those gods, as represented by the animals or other objects with which they were associated, must have had its origin in totemism, or in ideas similar to those upon which totemism has probably been based.

In referring to Polynesian beliefs as to descent from the totem (I am still using this term for shortness without reference to the question of the relationship to totemism of the Polynesian system) I have confined myself to statements referring to the animals themselves, and this was, I think, a necessary precaution. Many of the kings and chiefs of Polynesia claimed direct descent from gods, and in a number of cases these gods had their recognized incarnations, or animals or objects with which they were specially associated; and belief in descent from an incarnate god may well in some cases have been based on that of descent from the incarnation; but this would not necessarily be so. The claim may have been, and I think probably was in many cases, that of descent from the god as a deity, or from a deified man, and not from the animal in which he was believed to be incarnate, even though the animal also might often be identified in a way with the god as their ancestor.

We have seen that in some cases the food taboos were limited in the sense that certain persons were more or less exempt from them, or they could apparently be removed by previously offering the tabooed food or part of it to a god. These limited taboos are reported from nearly all the islands;

but the character of the limitation is not always the same. I propose, for the purpose of considering this matter, to summarize, very shortly, the evidence that bears on it, taking first that which points to special ceremonies, and then the statements as to the limitation, or partial limitation, of the taboos so as to exclude certain persons and references to the making of offerings to the gods, the ceremonious character of these offerings, or the absence of special rites, not always being disclosed.

The evidence as to the ceremonies performed in some of the islands in connection with the catching, killing and eating of the flesh of certain animals suggests in itself that they must have been regarded as very sacred. It will be noticed that apparently the need for these ceremonies was in each case widespread, and not merely local among relatively small groups of people to whom alone the animals might have been sacred[1]; and that, being performed only with reference to these specific animals, the ceremonies point to something more than mere offerings of food to the gods at meal times, such as were common in Polynesia. In Samoa the first catching of a shark was followed by a certain amount of ceremony, and sometimes there was a feast. In the Society Islands turtles, when caught, were taken to the *marae*, where they were cooked and eaten, a portion being offered to the god. We have a description of a ceremony in Nukuhiva of the Marquesan group, prior to the catching of turtle, the place in which it was performed being taboo, and the king being taboo during its continuance. In the Paumotu the catching of turtle and certain sorts of fish was attended with ceremony, and we have an account of the somewhat elaborate rites afterwards performed at the *marae* in connection with the cooking of a turtle, when the most brilliant part of the shell was apparently offered to the god. In Fotuna ceremony attended the killing, cooking and cutting up of a turtle, for the purpose, we are told, of removing its taboo. In Funafuti, of the Ellice group, the king, after receiving a turtle, pronounced an incantation over it. We are told of a ceremony witnessed in Tongareva immediately after a captured turtle was brought ashore, and further ceremonies which afterwards attended its preparation, cooking and sacrifice to the gods at the *marae*.

[1] I do not mean by this that a ceremony reported in an island group must be assumed to have been customary in every island of the group; nor is it likely that it would be so—say in such a widely scattered group as the Paumotu.

Referring to the rights and privileges of chiefs, and the duty of making offerings to gods, the statements made are sometimes confusing, and even inconsistent; but I will quote them as actually made. In Samoa the first shark caught was carried to the chief, who divided it up, though we are not told who were the people that received portions. The best portions of turtle, shark, the large *ulua* fish and river-eel, all of which were regarded as sacred, were due to the superhuman great chiefs, the head being the king's part, and other parts being given to the orators and the *tamafafine*, or, in the case of the river-eel, we are told that the king took the tail, and that any people might eat the rest; the heart and liver of a pig was on one reported occasion given to the chiefs, the rest being divided among other people according to their relative rank; we are told that the chief received the prime part of a pig; we are told of the severe punishment inflicted on a family for not bringing a shark to the chief; even a converted family were afraid of eating their own feathered deity without offering *something* to their own god. In Tonga the general body of the people dare not eat turtle, but apparently the chiefs might do so, the belief being that they were godlike themselves; and there were certain foods, including turtle and a species of fish, which none might eat without first giving a portion to the gods; so also chiefs had to be given portions of any turtle and of certain rare fish that might be caught; and we are told that none but a great chief or friend of the gods might eat turtle; in a district where the flying fox was worshipped only one or two great chiefs might shoot it. In the Society Islands turtles might only be eaten by kings and principal chiefs, or, according to one account, even the relatives of the royal family were not allowed to do so; a part was always offered to the god; and even the king and his family would have supernatural punishment if they did not first offer a portion to the idol. In Rarotonga the *ariki* had the right to all turtles and sharks caught, and, apparently, some sorts of fish; a portion of every turtle caught had to be offered to the gods, and only the king and principal chiefs might eat the rest, which was cooked in the sacred fire; so also in Mangaia (also of the Hervey group), if a turtle was caught it had to be given to the king, and there is an Aitutakian tradition of Iro being killed because he only gave the king a portion of it. In the Marquesas there was a species of mackerel, allied to the bonito, which had to be given wholly

to the gods, not even the priests being allowed to eat it; and we are told that there were other sacred animals, including the mullet, which had to be offered to the god, though perhaps somebody might eat it afterwards. Also, the best food was reserved for the chiefs, in common with the religious heads and the gods. In the Paumotu turtles and certain fish were reserved for the king and nobles, and had to be taken to the king, and his portion of it was the head; the most brilliant part of the shell seems to have been offered to the gods. In Rotuma turtles and sharks belonged to the chief, and no one else might eat them without his permission and would become sick and probably die if he did so; and the shooting of a large species of rail was confined to the chiefs. In Fotuna all turtles belonged to the head chief of the *malo* [conquering] party. In Funafuti, of the Ellice group, all turtles had to be taken to the king, and they were eaten by him and his relations. In a description of a turtle feast in Tongareva we are told that the turtle was first sacrificed to the gods, and was eaten, apparently, only by a priest, two chiefs, and Lamont, who would be regarded as a chief. The Rakahanga evidence is difficult to interpret, but we at all events get an indication of the practices there in the tradition as to the terrible consequences which followed the omission of the people to bring a turtle to the king.

We are thus told of animals which were regarded as the property of the principal chief or king, and, when caught, had to be taken to him, and of animals which only the principal chief or king, or he and his underchiefs, or some of them, might eat, and there are general statements as to certain animals the eating of which was confined to the chiefs as a class. I think that these statements, though differing in the method of their expression, probably all refer more or less to one or the other or both of two practices. There is no doubt that higher class people had, speaking generally, choicer diet than those below them in station, and that the great chiefs had the best of all, being indeed entitled to it by virtue of their superior rank; but it is, I think, impossible to read and compare the evidence obtained from the different islands without recognizing that much of it points to something more than this. There was in certain animals and fish an element of great taboo, which made the eating of their flesh dangerous, leading to the serious illness of him who partook of it, and perhaps to death, just as it did in the case of a person eating the flesh of the animal in

which his own god was incarnate or which was associated with the deity. Why then could chiefs, and especially high chiefs or kings, eat this food which was so dangerous to others? I think the probable explanation is indicated by Mariner, who tells us that in Tonga they thought the chiefs might eat turtle, *as they approached so near in rank and character to the gods themselves*, and in the statement that in Tonga none but a great chief *or friend of the gods* might eat turtle. Apparently, however, even the chiefs had in some cases to take precautions. They had, as I interpret the matter, to propitiate the gods by first making offerings of the dangerous food or some of it to them, and sometimes solemn ceremonies had to be performed at the *marae*; and we are told that in the Society Islands even the king himself and his family would suffer supernatural punishment if they ate the flesh of turtle before it had been offered to the idol. I may say as to this that it was a common practice in Polynesia for people at meal times and kava drinkings to offer a portion of the food, actually or symbolically, to the gods whom they worshipped or one of them; but I do not think I have seen any suggestion that if at any time a man ate ordinary food without doing this he would necessarily be punished by illness, or perhaps by death, such as would befall him if he ate the flesh of the animal connected with his god. It is to be noticed that a great chief would portion out the taboo food, taking a part himself, and distributing other parts among his relatives or other chiefs; but it appears, according to one or two accounts, that what was left might be eaten by people who were not chiefs. This factor in the evidence may seem somewhat inconsistent with my suggested explanation of it; but I shall refer to this matter presently. The animal whose special sanctity, with its accompanying taboo as food, was, so far as the evidence tells us, most widely spread was the turtle, and the others were sharks and certain large or special sorts of fish; other animals are, however, mentioned also, but it is possible that some of the evidence is purely local in character, and may be referring to practices relating to local incarnate gods. Then, again, some statements, such for example as that relating to the distribution in Samoa of the portions of a pig, probably have little or nothing to do with anything more than the general right of chiefs to have the best parts of the food.

The various islands of the Pacific were inhabited by groups of people, each of which had its own god or gods, incarnate in

or associated with certain animals, which members of the group would not eat, and sub-groups also would have their own animals which were taboo to them alone; and in some cases the sacred animal might be the turtle. There is not, however, a scrap of evidence pointing to the turtle as having been an animal with which nearly all these gods were identified; and there must have been in the Pacific an enormous number of groups of people who did not see any god of theirs in this animal, and who therefore would, so far as their own incarnate gods were concerned, be free to eat it. How comes it then that the recognition of the special sanctity of the turtle and the taboo connected with it, applying to whole populations, seems to have been spread all over the Pacific? The same question may be asked concerning the shark, and the large and special forms of fish to which writers refer, though the evidence as to them is not quite so striking. The special sanctity of the shark was, however, spread widely, even if not so much so as was that of the turtle; and as regards the fish, I may point out that the sanctity of each of them appears to have been general in its own island or group of islands, so that it must have been recognized by people to whom it was not the incarnation of their god.

Taking the case of the turtle as the most prominent example of our subject, it seems clear that, practically throughout Polynesia, it had a special sanctity which must have been recognized, not only by those to whom it was an incarnate god, but by others also, and this sanctity made it taboo as food in the way and to the extent disclosed by the evidence. The fact that this sanctity seems to have been universal, or nearly so, among the Polynesians justifies us in believing that it had a very ancient origin, and the question is what was this origin? The only suggestion as to this that occurs to me is that possibly the turtle had in the distant past been the totem or totemic god, or associated in some way with the worship, of a group of ancestors, and that its sanctity had survived, though the group had become broken up and scattered over the islands of the Pacific, and the origin of the sanctity of the animal lost long ago. The survival of the sanctity had carried with it the restriction against eating the turtle, a restriction which was not confined to people who, in these later days, recognized it as the incarnation of their god. This suggested explanation would, I think, account for the fact that the chiefs, and especially the high chiefs, were

excluded, to a considerable extent at all events, from the restriction. I do not think even a high chief would eat the animal that was the incarnation of his own god; but if this is correct, and if all that was known was that from time immemorial the turtle had for some reason been very sacred, then the high chief, being himself very sacred, and often regarded as divine, or almost so, would feel that he could partake of what was primarily the food of the gods, at all events if he first propitiated them by an offering to them of the food or a portion of it; and the solemn ceremonies at the *marae*, recorded in some islands, may have been an extra precaution. The Polynesian mind was not logically exact, and the lack of knowledge as to the origin of the sanctity of the turtle would exclude exactitude of conception; it would not therefore be a matter of surprise to us that, the offering having been made to the god, and the head chief having received his own sacred portion, his relatives and under chiefs might accept and eat the parts which he gave to them, and that even people lower in rank—of the middle classes—might eat the remnants that were given to them.

The discussion of the belief that the spirits of the dead became or entered into animals must be postponed until I consider the general question of the gods of Polynesia, and the possible connection of the origin of the belief in divine incarnation, not only with totemism but with a cult of the dead. There is, however, one feature in the evidence to which I will draw attention here. In Samoa it was believed that the spirit of a dead man might appear in the form of any one or other of certain insects and small animals. In one of the Tongan islands they would not kill flies. In Tahiti it was an insect that gave warning of death. In Ra'iatea it was believed that the spirits of the dead became cockroaches. In Tahiti the souls of children killed at birth appeared as grasshoppers. In Mangaia the voices of warriors slain in battle were recognized in the chirping of a species of cricket, and the souls of the dead buried in the great Aureka chasm were associated in some way with a species of red fly. In Rarotonga the grasshopper was an omen of death. In the Marquesas the souls of the dead were often recognized in crickets, and those of priests were supposed to ascend to the sky in the form of moths, developing afterwards into birds. In the Paumotu the souls of the dead were believed to enter into birds. In Niue

they were seen in insects, lizards, etc.; and in Fotuna in an insect or reptile, or perhaps a bird. In Ongtong Java the soul could revisit the island in the form of a bird.

The various groups of people who held these beliefs would have their own respective incarnate gods, of whose animal forms there was a considerable variety, and it may well be that in many cases the animal in which the soul of a dead man was seen was the incarnation of his deity, or perhaps some animal with which he had been specially associated in some way in his lifetime; but we can hardly connect with ideas of this character a belief, reported from Samoa, Niue and Fotuna, that the soul of the dead man might be in any insect or small animal that chanced to alight on a mat; there is no indication of any special association of living men of Ra'iatea with cockroaches; we can think of no obvious reason why the souls of Tahitian children killed at birth should enter into grasshoppers; and so on as regards some of the other beliefs to which I have referred. In some cases the beliefs referred only to the souls of people who had suffered a violent or unnatural death, or perhaps had not been buried. I must, however, content myself, for the present at all events, with suggesting that this evidence points to ideas of some general association between dead men and living animals which appear to have been, or at all events may have been, distinct from those involved by what we know of the worship of incarnate gods.

CHAPTER XXIII

CLAN BADGES

PRELIMINARY

I INTEND to include under this heading all objects or designs, wherever they may have been placed or carried, whether on people's bodies or on canoes, buildings or elsewhere, and however they may have been used, which were, or seem to have been, indicative of, or specially connected with, specific groups of people, although some of these cannot perhaps be described accurately as badges, and I may possibly be introducing as examples a few which may have had some other significance, or may have been merely decorative work, the evidence as to this not being always very clear. I may say that where the badge, as I am calling it, represented the god of the people who used it, it may well have been a protective emblem; but it would also identify those people as the worshippers of that god, and so might become, and would in fact be, a distinctive badge.

SAMOA

Turner, speaking of warfare, says the Samoans had in their war canoes some distinguishing badge of their district, such as a bird, a dog, or a bunch of leaves, hoisted on a pole. The bush-ranging land forces had certain marks on the body by which they knew their own party, and which served as a temporary watchword. One day the distinguishing mark might be blackened cheeks; the next, two strokes on the breast; the next, a white shell hung from a strip of white cloth round the neck; and so on[1]. Speaking elsewhere of the canoes, he refers to these animal images as figure-heads, and says that each of them had from time immemorial been the coat-of-arms of the particular village or district to which the canoe belonged[2]. Pritchard says that when the fleets of the various districts united, a distinguishing pendant showed to which they respectively belonged. This pendant was either a string of coconut leaves, or strips of matting, or a dog, bird or fish, painted on a

[1] Turner, pp. 191 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 165.

piece of native cloth. To distinguish allies on shore, certain figures were painted on the body in black, white or red; or a particular shell was suspended from the neck, or tied round the arm; or the hair was worn in some fantastic manner. The signs, whatever they might be, were changed every two or three days[1]. The frequent changing by the land forces of their sign seems hardly consistent with its having been a clan badge, but according to Turner's account, and so probably according to that of Pritchard, the signs on the canoes were not changed. Krämer says that war canoes often bore animal figures on a post at the bow as a figure-head, the symbol in war of the village district concerned, and that he saw in a boat at Falefa a figure of the *fua'o* bird[2], which, as shall see directly, was the distinctive sign of Falefa. Hood also says some of the large canoes had the figure of some bird or beast, the armorial bearing of the village to which the canoe belonged[3].

Schultz says that the only figurative (*bildlich*) representations in a Samoan house—"nowadays rare, but said to have been more frequent formerly"—were the village marks, scratched or carved on the lower side of a horizontal beam, which strengthened the roof; and this indicated the origin of the builder (*Erbauer*—? founder). As to this, he tells us that each Samoan village had a badge (*Wahrzeichen*), which the inhabitants used in jest and in earnest with the pride of local patriotism (*igoa fa'avi'ivi'i*). For example, Asau and Salelonga had the serpent, Manono the dog, Satua the fowl, Safune the *saosao* (a fish), Falefa the *fua'o* (a seabird), etc.[4] The statements that the making of these imitative designs in houses had formerly been frequent, but had (in Schultz's time) become rare, and that the people regarded them both in jest and in earnest, suggests that the animals which they represented had possessed previously a special importance in the minds of the people, which had only partially passed away.

A point of interest in connection with the use of representations of animals as badges of villages and districts is found in Turner's statement that the latter used to bear figurative names, such as the sword-fish, the sting-ray, the dog, the wild boar, the Tongan cock, the frigate bird, etc.[5] Some of them had the names of trees[6]. These figurative names were not, of course,

[1] Pritchard, p. 56. Cf. Johnson, p. 186.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 265.
[3] Hood, pp. 46 *sq.*
[4] Schultz, *Globus*, vol. XCV, p. 289 and *notes* 2 and 3.
[5] Turner, p. 214.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 213 *sq.*

their geographical names. Turner says elsewhere that the figurative names were given to the troops in time of war[1].

One of the examples, given by Schultz, of imitative carving of the village sign in a house is the serpent in Asau and Salelonga. I have already referred, in connection with the subject of social grouping, to the district of Asau, at the north-western corner of Savai'i, which was in the main a district of the Tonumaipe'a family, whose great ancestor god was, as we have seen, Si'uleo, incarnate in a sea-eel. Now I imagine rude carvings of a sea-eel and of a serpent would be indistinguishable; so here perhaps we may suspect a connection between the animal carved and the dominant god of the place. It may be that the god represented in this case was Saolevao, the brother of Si'uleo, who, according to Krämer, was worshipped in Asau[2], and one of whose incarnations was, according to Turner, an eel[3]. I have tried to trace connections of this character with reference to the other carvings referred to by Schultz, but have not been able to do so.

Krämer was told of a house in Lefanga in Aana which had on its ridge-beam a carving representing a lizard[4]. I cannot produce evidence that the worship of the great lizard god Pili, prevailed in Lefanga; but it was said in the traditions that the taro-planting by him in Aana extended to that place[5]. This, of course, is not evidence that we could, even if the worship of Pili at Lefanga were proved, accept as indicating that the carving represented the great Pili, seeing that it only refers to a single house, and there were no doubt many local lizard gods in Samoa. There is, however, a general statement that the family of Pili had a lizard as the mark of their house[6].

There are a number of references to practices of a miscellaneous character which seem to bear more or less upon the subject of clan badges. A coconut tree spear was the representative of the god Tufi; and it was taken by his people in the war fleet as a sign that the god was with them[7]. There was a legend that the god Pava, in anger at the killing of his daughter by Tangaroa, plucked a taro leaf, and sailed on it to Fiji; the taro leaf became his emblem, and his adherents, in going to battle, wore taro leaf caps, by which they were known[8]. The god Fe'e was incarnate in the cuttle-fish, and this incarnation,

[1] Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 332 *sq.*
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 77.
[3] Turner, p. 50.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 438 *note* 4.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 27.
[6] Thilenius, *Globus*, vol. LXXX, p. 169 *note* 4.
[7] Turner, p. 61.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 43.

having been brought to Samoa by a chief, who had swum with it from Fiji, showed, when taken into a house, a special predilection for a piece of white cloth, over which it stretched itself; white cloth therefore became the emblem of the god, and his worshippers, in going to battle, wore white turbans, by which they were known, and so, as they thought, pleased the god and secured a defence against the enemy[1]. There is a story of the war goddess Nafanua, who took up the defence of her much-oppressed people, and summoning them all to battle, took the lead herself, and completely routed the enemy, and so raised the district to a position of honour and equality. During the fighting she concealed her sex by covering her breasts with coconut leaflets; and the distinguishing mark or pass-word of her troops was a few coconut leaflets bound round the waist. After the battle, she marked all the trees in the district as hers by tying coconut leaflets round them and defied the enemy or any one else to touch them; a strip of coconut leaflet encircling a tree was for ever after a taboo sign which protected it from robbery[2]. A village god, though incarnate in a shrub (Ascarina), seems for some reason to have had a *tii* leaf (Dracaena) for its emblem; and this was carried by the troops as a banner wherever they went[3]. The conch shell is known in the Pacific for its use as a trumpet. One war god, whose emblem this shell is said to have been, had a temple with the shell in it, and the shell was carried about with the troops[4]. The idea of this may, however, have been that the shell was for use, but perhaps they were taking the war god with them to help them. Turner says that Samoan canoes were generally decorated with rows of conch shells[5], which, we are told, were the sacred emblem of the war god[6]. The same comment as to the war god may be made concerning this and with reference to Krämer's statement that the war canoes of the little island of Manono bore a large trumpet and a long white banner on the mast, as emblem of the war god[7], for white flags were well recognized signs of sanctity and taboo. I may say, however, that I think that references to conch shells being regarded as emblems of specific gods must be received with doubt.

According to Turner, the Samoan men had tattooed on their

[1] Turner, p. 28.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 39. This legend may well have been merely a local attempt to explain a common form of taboo mark.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 57.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 27.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 165.
[6] Stair, p. 222.
[7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 160.

bodies, besides their other designs, the mark or coat-of-arms of the particular district to which they belonged, and he gives as an example the figure of a dog[1]. Pritchard says that in Samoa, whilst the design or pattern of the tattooing was in the main alike throughout the group, certain districts had what might be called coats-of-arms in addition, this special decoration usually being an animal; but that each generation would introduce some trifling variation[2]. Ella says some of the tattooing patterns denoted the clan to which the man belonged[3]. Brown also tells us of this custom of distinctive tattooing; but it would almost appear from the similarity of language that he had taken it from Pritchard[4]. Apparently a special purpose of distinctive tattooing was to enable them to identify the headless bodies of the dead after fighting[5].

There has been some discussion upon the question of the significance or otherwise of designs on native cloth in Samoa, and in connection with this the question of tattooing also arises; but the consideration of this must be postponed to a future date.

TONGA

According to Samwell, the surgeon with Cook on his third voyage in 1777, the sails of the Tongan canoes generally had the image of a cock upon them[6]. Figures of cocks were seen on the sails of the canoes of Cocos [Tafahi or Boscawen] Island[7]; and at Niuatobutabu [Keppel] Island, between the Tongan and Samoan groups, it was observed that the sail of the canoe which apparently had command of the others carried the figure of a grey and red cock[8]. These may have been clan badges; but if so, and if their use was widely spread, they can hardly have represented any merely local group, unless indeed it was that of one of the great ruling families.

The only information as to tattooed clan badges in Tonga that I have been able to find are statements by Ellis (of Cook's party) that while some of the tattoo marks were perhaps only ornamental, others "seem to be to distinguish the different tribes to which they belong"[9]; by Père A. C., as to designs on cloth, that each tribe had its individual design, which

[1] Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 349.
[2] Pritchard, p. 145.
[3] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 624.
[4] Brown, pp. 102 *sq.*
[5] Pritchard, p. 145; Marquardt, p. 15; Stevenson, *Footnote*, p. 189; Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 349.
[6] *J.P.S.* vol. VIII, p. 253.
[7] De Brosses, vol. I, p. 369.
[8] Dalrymple, vol. II, p. 28.
[9] Ellis (Cook), vol. I, p. 93.

it never changed[1]; and by Collocott, who says that tattooing had largely fallen into disuse among modern Tongans, and the only instance he had found of markings which had a clear totem or religious significance, was the tattooing of the *kalae* (rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his worship[2].

SOCIETY ISLANDS

Agostini saw in 1895, at a government festival in Tahiti, the canoes of the various districts. The canoe of Paea was remarkable for the fantastic animal adorning its front part—a strange bird, shapeless, with great wings, which flapped incessantly[3]. The London missionaries, in describing, in 1801, the voyage of the flotilla of canoes to carry the god Oro and attendant deities from the *marae* at Paea in Attahuru to Tautira, to which I have referred in a previous chapter, say that one of the canoes was decorated with, amongst other things, an image of a bird, nearly as large as a goose, rudely formed, and covered with feathers of different colours, into which, it was said, Oro delighted to enter, and also a small canopy under which they believed he rested himself[4]. We know that the Paea *marae* had been for long past the great Tahitian centre of the worship of Oro; and this, coupled with the suggestion in both these two accounts of the large size of the bird, and the identification, according to the missionary account, of the image of the bird with Oro, justifies the suggestion that the statements must be read together and that possibly the great bird sign was a badge of the Paea people. I may say as to this that, according to Miss Henry, the "man-of-war-bird" [frigate bird?] was looked upon as the earthly shadow of Oro[5]. There is other ground also for suspecting that the bird described by Agostini was a sort of clan badge of the Paea people, for he says that the Mataiea canoe had at its prow a monstrous eel's head, the jaws of which, cleverly worked, opened and shut in a menacing fashion[6]; and I have already referred to the belief of the Mataiea people that they were descended from an eel dwelling in lake Vairia, and to the great veneration with which they therefore regarded eels, and the annual pilgrimages to the lake in which an immortal eel was supposed to dwell. The *marae* Taputuarai in Papara was spoken of as the *marae* of the

[1] Père A. C., p. xiii.
[2] *J.P.S.* vol. 30, p. 161.
[3] Agostini, p. 47.
[4] *L.M.S., Trans.* vol. 1, p. 214.
[5] *J.P.S.* vol. xxi, p. 77.
[6] Agostini, pp. 47 *sq.*

lizard, which animal it bore as its sign[1]; this is perhaps not necessarily suggestive of the idea of a clan badge, as it would be if I could show that the people used the sign in other ways, for it might be merely a representation of the god to whom the *marae* was dedicated. We are also told of a *marae* in which was an image of a bird, carved in wood, and another of a fish, carved in stone[2]; and of several sheds, enclosed within a wall, on the outside of which there were uncouth figures of hogs and dogs, carved on posts driven into the ground[3].

The only definite evidence I have found of personal markings distinctive of a group of people is that provided by the Spanish officers who found that the tattooing of the lower lip so as to give it a blue colour was the "caste" mark of the Vehiatua family[4]. Without deciding what is involved by the term "caste," the mark was apparently specially used by that family. Several writers speak of the Tahitian practice of tattooing various animals and other objects on the body, but only Cook refers to the fact that some of the decorations were "significations," though he could not learn what they were[5]. As to this, I may point out that we cannot assume from the fact that some Polynesian tattooing is said to have been significant of something, that it was a clan mark; it might have been something else, such as caste or rank in society, and in the Society Islands certain tattooed marks of the *areoi* societies were significant of the separate progressive classes of members of the societies[6].

HERVEY ISLANDS

The Mangaians seem to have had visible decorations for distinguishing members of different social groups. Gill says that even in the matter of clothing there were special differences among the different "tribes." He had seen a man stripped naked for presuming to wear the garments of another tribe, and his defence was that his grandmother had been a member of that tribe[7]; he does not explain here in what way the differences of dress appeared, but there is in the ethnological gallery at the British Museum a piece of bark cloth which he had procured, with a label, believed to have been written by him,

[1] Baessler, *N.S.B.* p. 138.
[2] Cook, vol. I, p. 159.
[3] Hawkesworth, vol. I, p. 485. Other writers refer to images of this character in Tahiti.
[4] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 471 and *note* 1; cf. vol. II, p. 183 and *note* 1, and p. xxxiv.
[5] Cook, vol. I, p. 179.
[6] Ellis, vol. I, p. 238.
[7] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 16.

that it had an appropriate clan design which no other clan might use under pain of death; and the design on this is purely geometrical. He says that the Mangaian word for "write" (*tui*) primarily referred to the tracing of "clan designs" on native cloth[1]. He also, in speaking of the summoning of a clan to fight, refers to it as the *Te-tui-kura* (red marked) clan[2]. Possibly these people had clan badges on their canoes, for Gill says that at the commencement of the fishing season the priests of Mokoiro fastened on to the bow of each canoe the little leaf god emblematic of Mokoiro, this emblem being intended to secure the safety of the canoes[3]. This, at all events, was probably merely a protective or helpful image of the god, not connected with the idea of distinguishing different clans, though if different clans had different fishermen's gods it would in fact do so[4]. The same comment may be made on the Rarotongan practice, referred to by Williams, of placing in front of every fishing canoe, before setting off on a fishing expedition, an image of the fishermen's god, the form of the image being that of a nude human figure, with large ears and tattooed, squatting on his hands and knees[5].

The Mangaian legends of Ina's voyage to the sacred isle and the origin of tattooing suggests what might conceivably be a clan badge. She had beaten an *avini* fish and a *paoro* fish, and the marks on the bodies of these two species were supposed to have been produced by her strokes[6]; and the tattooing of the island "was simply an imitation of the stripes of the *avini* and *paoro*"[7].

I have already referred, in discussing Areas and Systems, to the account obtained by Gudgeon, of the earliest migrations from Hawaiki to the island of Aitutaki, of certain chiefs with their respective parties. Gudgeon says it is "claimed" that each canoe was carved on the bow in a more or less distinct pattern, presumably with the heraldic bearings of the chief of the canoe, and that this carving was adopted by those who came in the canoe as the *ta-tatau* which should for all times distinguish them from other tribes. Apparently it was supposed that there had been five canoes, and figures of the five designs adopted are given; they seem to have been mainly geometric, though an ingenious

[1] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 31. [2] *Ibid. S.L.P.* p. 2. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 104 *sq.*

[4] Each clan would have a tutelar deity upon whom it relied for support, not only in fishing, but in other matters also, and it might also have a special fishermen's god. Mokoiro seems in this matter to have been associated with the whole island.

[5] Williams, p. 116. [6] Gill, *Myths*, p. 91. [7] *Ibid.* p. 95.

specialist might be able to point to some possible imitative character in one or two of them, and we are told that one of them represented a range of mountains in Hawaiki, and the name of another meant the forward thrust of a spear. It is said of the people of the first canoe that they adopted the carving of the canoe as the tribal *ta-tatau*, and it was tattooed on their bodies and occasionally on the neck, wrist or legs, but never on the face. The same mark was placed on the garments and tribal ornaments, and any appropriation of this special mark by another tribe resulted in bloodshed, for the object of the mark was to preserve the descent of each family by giving each member thereof the proof of his descent on his own person[1]. Though all this is spoken of only in connection with the occupants of the first canoe, it is clear that it is intended to apply also to those of the others; also it is clear that Gudgeon is speaking, not merely of a tradition of what was done long ago by the occupants of the canoes, but of a continuing practice which had since been followed by their actual or supposed descendants. The term *ta-tatau* evidently refers to tattooing[2]. The ship's surgeon of Cook's third voyage said, in his diary, of the tattooing of the people of the island of Atiu that it seemed to be a kind of heraldry, for those of the same tribe or family were marked exactly alike; but adds that their stay was too short to make sure of such a matter[3].

MARQUESAS

Porter says that in Nukuhiva every tribe was, he observed, tattooed after a different fashion, and he was told that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer certain privileges at their feasts[4]. Clavel was told, as he believed authoritatively, that in former days uniformity in design distinguished the tribes, and special tattooings indicated the classes to which the people belonged[5]. According to Tautain, formerly all the designs imprinted upon the skin of the people, particularly on the face, had their perfectly legible meaning, and up to modern times the great lines of the tattooing allowed one to recognize the tribe[6]. I have quoted these three writers together, because

[1] Gudgeon, *J.P.S.* vol. XIV, pp. 217 *sq.*
[2] Cf. Père A. C., p. 255 (Tonga); *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 208 (Niue); Pratt, and Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 65 (Samoa); *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 78 (Paumotu).
[3] *J.P.S.* vol. VIII, p. 252.
[4] Porter, vol. II, p. 120.
[5] Clavel, *Rev. d'Eth.* vol. III, pp. 135 *sq.*
[6] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, p. 675.

their statements, taken together, point to a double significance of the tattooing, certain leading features of the designs having been apparently distinctive of what I may call clans, and other portions apparently of rank in society. Tautain also says that the Marquesans carved on certain of their arms and implements designs which represented their names[1]; I do not know whether he refers to names of clans, or of small families or personal names. Lesson thought that some of the designs were the "armorial bearings of families"[2].

Krusenstern, in describing the men's eating houses of Nukuhiva, says that only great chiefs, priests, or warriors could afford to have them, as the possessor of such a house had a number of people constantly at his table, who formed an association, and always had to be fed, and the members of these clubs were distinguished by different tattooed marks upon their bodies. He gives as examples of the difference a square mark, about six inches long and four inches wide on the breast, and a tattooed eye[3]. Langsdorff, evidently speaking of the same thing, says that each member of any such fraternity was bound, if possible, to support his fellows with food in times of scarcity, and for this purpose joined in robbing and slaying, and thus formed a real band of robbers. One person might be a member of different clubs of this sort[4]. The ideas of mutual rights to food supply, and of the duty of the great chief to feed the others, and the co-operation in making food raids suggests that these associations may have been related family groups, and the fact that a man might be a member of more than one of them is not inconsistent with this, as membership of more than one might have been derived from previous inter-group marriages; but something more than this may have been involved in the tattooing.

Radiguet describes a great feast held in honour of a Nukuhivan priest who had recently died and been deified, at which a number of clans (including invited guests) were present. When the food was brought it was set down "from distance to distance"; and he says that groups of people sat down in the form of a circle for the feast, and that these groups were formed in recognition of the tattooing (*se reconnaissaient au tatouage*)

[1] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, p. 675.

[2] Lesson, *Voy.* vol. I, p. 382. Cf. Coulter, p. 212: von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. XXV, pp. 509 *sq.*; des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LIII, p. 68.

[3] Krusenstern, vol. I, pp. 159 *sq.*

[4] Langsdorff, vol. I, pp. 162 *sq.*

from which, I gather, he means that people similarly tattooed would be collected together in each group, the groups being established at intervals along the line of the great circle[1]. As it was a common Polynesian custom at great feasts for the various clans or social or family groups to keep separate from one another, it is probable that this is an illustration of distinctive clan markings in tattooing.

PAUMOTU

I have found no information as to clan badges in the Paumotuan islands. Cook says that the men of Takaroa had the figure of a fish on their bodies[2], and Forster says most of the tattooing was in imitation of fishes[3], so it is possible that the people of this little cluster of islets were specially associated with a fish. There is also a reference in one of the traditions to "a tattooing peculiar to the kings of Mangareva"[4], to which no definite interpretation can be put in the absence of further information.

NIUE

It is said that the people of Niue had spears ornamented with a few feathers, the arrangement of which represented the owner's name, and enabled him to claim the credit of a successful throw in battle[5]. This suggests a personal identification mark, rather than a clan mark.

FOTUNA

According to Bourdin, tattooing in the island of Fotuna indicated the extraction of the individual—that is, to which island, tribe and family he belonged[6]. Presumably this refers to Fotuna and Alofi, the two islands of the Horne group.

EASTER ISLAND

Thomson says the Easter Island hieroglyphics included, besides representations of actual objects, figures used by the chiefs, and that each clan had its distinctive mark[7]; he says that three skulls obtained from one of the platforms had engraved on them hieroglyphics which signified the clan to which they belonged[8]; and he gives a tradition, appearing on one of

[1] Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 622.
[2] Cook, vol. III, p. 289.
[3] Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, pp. 39 *sq.*
[4] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 202.
[5] Erskine, p. 27.
[6] Bourdin, p. 458.
[7] W. J. Thomson, p. 517.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 538.

the tablets, as to a formal ceremony prior to commencement of a war, in which it is said that each warrior wore the feather hat of his clan[1]. According to an account of the formal taking possession in 1770 of Easter Island by the Spaniards, after the deed of possession had been signed by the representatives of Spain, the island chiefs drew upon it certain characters, regarded as strikingly like those found on the inscriptions, and which, I gather, were intended, like signatures, to record their approval[2]. I have not yet commenced the study of the problem of the statues and scripts of Easter Island, and so am unable to say whether they throw any further light on this question.

[1] W. J. Thomson, p. 519.

[2] *J.A.I.* vol. III, pp. 382 *sq.* Facsimiles of these "signatures" are given in Plate XXVII (opposite p. 528); but I do not attempt to interpret them.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF WAR

PRELIMINARY

A SUBJECT which I propose to consider now as a distinct clan idea, with the practices which that idea involves, is the social character of war. The value of much of the evidence to which I shall refer is, so far as this question is concerned, dependent upon the assumption that the tie between the members of respective groups, great or small, of people was primarily social; and the answer to the question whether or not this was so depends upon the sufficiency of the evidence, adduced in previous chapters, upon this subject. If, as I believe, the tie binding a group of people together was primarily social, and that group had a practice, as such, of entering into war with other groups, then the war was social in character, and evidence of the power of the head chief or king of the group to summon his district chiefs to join, along with their own people, in the fighting becomes relevant. Of course internal dynastic and family struggles for the kingship or chieftainship of a group took place from time to time, and these must have involved a good deal of fighting between persons nearly related; but this is another matter, and even in cases of this sort it is possible, and indeed probable, that the question of close family relationship to one or other of the rival claimants would affect largely the decisions of other people as to which of them they would support. We shall see that there is some evidence of disapproval of fighting between relatives, and in one or two cases there is ground for thinking, or at least a possibility, that there was behind this human disapproval a belief that such fighting was disapproved by the gods. Another matter which will be introduced into the discussion is the moral obligation of a man's relations to co-operate with him in wreaking vengeance upon a person who has done him an injury, and the inclusion, not only of the offender, but of his relations also, in the punishment to be inflicted. I shall sometimes refer to this practice, for shortness, as "vendetta," though I am not sure that the word is terminologically correct.

SAMOA

In considering the war practices of the Samoans we must bear in mind the apparently social character of the relationship which, speaking broadly, bound the members of a household to the village, those of a village to the district, and those of a district to the main political division, and the corresponding social character of the authority which the chief of an area, small or great, from a chief at the head of a village to a king of a division, would have over those who were subject to his rule.

Krämer says that when a king, being insulted as such, declared war against another division, as, for example, *tuiaana* against Tuamasanga, the *tuiaana* might be assured that his whole land of Aana would give him military service[1]; and again, Aana must give war service to him to whom the *tuiaana* title is granted, and whoever did not obey would be killed[2]. So also, according to Stuebel, if the Malietoa was insulted, he could summon all Tuamasanga to battle[3]; and Ella says that the three supreme chiefs of Upolu (by which he means of Aana, Atua and Tuamasanga) had power to make war or peace, and all towns and villages of the districts rendered allegiance to them[4]. These statements only refer to external wars by these great chiefs, or kings as I have called them, and not to internal quarrels among their subjects, as to which Krämer says the king was fairly powerless if in his own land parties or villages were in conflict with each other[5]. It can hardly be doubted that the rights and powers as to war of the king of a division would be possessed by the chief of a district, and so on, subject however in all cases to questions arising as to people who were related to both the contending groups. On a declaration of war messengers were sent to all the villages; they were adorned with long yellow streamers, and carried spears similarly decorated, this being a sufficient intimation, and in a short time the clans assembled in the chief village[6].

Turner says that a chief could call to his aid, in any emergency, other chiefs connected with the same ancient stock from which he had sprung[7]. Churchward says that the people of each town sought marital alliances in as many other towns as possible, the further off the better, so that they might have

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 10.
[2] *Ibid. Globus*, vol. LXXV, p. 186.
[3] Stuebel, p. 109.
[4] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 597.
[5] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 10.
[6] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 633.
[7] Turner, p. 174.

friends in any part to which they might wish to go, and allies in case of war[1]; and that they were continually on the look out for a marital alliance for a *taupou* maiden whereby they might gain useful allies[2]. So also, according to Brown, wars, though often begun by quarrels between neighbouring districts, generally extended over the principal parts of the group, owing to the intimate family relationships existing; and he explains how, in case of war, messengers were sent not only to the villages within the district immediately concerned, but to allied districts[3]. Krämer refers to the way in which close connections through kinship with a chief's family, in places often quite remote, led to relations of mutual aid in war[4], and to the great importance therefore attached to the relations by marriages[5]. Von Bülow says, with reference to chiefs' marriages, that it was considered to be of the utmost importance that the woman to be married should have high rank, and kin as widespread and influential as possible, who in the event of war would, with their adherents, be able to afford the most enduring support[6]. I have already referred to the importance of these marriages in connection with the rights of a sister's son; but we are now dealing with a more general and more permanent feature of the relationships arising from intermarriages.

There is a statement by Ella that when part of a tribe migrated to found settlements in other parts of the country, the emigrants retained their fealty to the head chief of the original tribe, and were governed by him in times of war, or in any important political movement; though in other respects they were independent and under the control of their own appointed head[7]. I gather that he is speaking here of migrations of groups of people, and not merely of new *ainga* relationships brought about by marriage.

Churchward says that sometimes, on the approach of war, people of a district would divide into two parties, and fight on opposite sides; and the reason which he suggests for this is the desire to have friends in court, whichever side should win[8]. I think that Churchward is partially right in his statement, but that the probable explanation is not of quite such an opportunist character as he suggests. Let me draw attention to an event which must have occurred frequently, and to which I

[1] Churchward, p. 47.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 350.
[3] Brown, p. 164.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 14.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 338.
[6] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, p. 111.
[7] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 629.
[8] Churchward, p. 47.

have referred in connection with the subject of sister's son. A chief of social group *A*, occupying, say, a village district, or his son and probable successor, married a woman of group *B*, occupying another village district. He remained or became the chief of group *A*; but his wife (probably not in this case his principal wife) remained with her people of group *B*, and the children of the marriage and their descendants lived with group *B* in their village district, probably forming another village within the village district. The family thus founded was descended from both the chief of group *A* and the parents and ancestors of the wife of group *B*; and they were therefore related to both groups, though, succession being patrilineal, their relationship, in the sense in which we are now considering it, would generally be closer with group *A*, notwithstanding the social connection with group *B* that would be recognized under a lingering system of matrilineal descent. Let us then picture the position of this family in case war broke out between the two groups. Their relationship with group *B* would be strengthened practically, though not theoretically, by their day to day, and year after year, personal contact and friendship; on the other hand, there can be little doubt that properly the stronger bond would be that of the male ancestor, and not of the female. Considerations of this sort, and probably also of present policy, would influence them in deciding on their attitude; but in any case, if they joined in the fight they would be fighting against their own relatives, near or distant. This position would, of course, not arise only in cases of double relationships originating in the specific way to which I have referred; it would arise in all cases, however they had originated, of intermarriage and resulting families, including, for instance, a migration, such as is spoken of by Ella, of people belonging to group *A* to an outside place, which might have been adjacent to that occupied by group *B*, and intermarriages between the people of *B* with the immigrants of *A*.

The general disapproval of fighting between people nearly related is referred to by Wilkes, who says the Samoans regarded fighting between blood relations with horror, and mentions a case in which close relationship between two chiefs prevented war, even though the quarrel between them was that one of them had carried off the other's wife[1]. It is also, I think, involved by Turner's statement that if two families in a village

[1] Wilkes, vol. II, p. 102.

(that is my "village district" containing its constituent "villages") quarrelled, and wished to fight, the other heads of families and the chief stepped in and forbad it; and it was at the peril of either party to carry on the strife contrary to the decided voice of public opinion[1]. The same idea is found in one of the traditions of the early history of Manu'a, in which it is said that Ta'e-o-Tangaroa, the first semi-divine, semi-human *tuimanu'a* warned his sons against going to war with each other, because they were brothers, and took precautions to prevent bloodshed between them[2]. We see it also in the precautions, to which I have referred in a previous chapter, taken by the father of Fune and Lafai, to prevent them from quarrelling, by putting them in different districts, with an aunt established between them[3].

The Tangaroa tradition suggests, perhaps, that the avoidance of fighting between relations was not a mere secular matter, but was associated with an idea of divine disapproval, and there are a couple of references by Turner which point in the same direction. An internal quarrel of neighbours in a Samoan village, whose god was incarnate in the cuttle-fish, and rising to blows was frowned upon by the god, except at his annual festival, when fighting was one of the features of the performance[4]. We are told of another Samoan village where a mischief-maker in a quarrel would be cursed and given over to the village god[5].

Goodenough gives a relatively recent example (1873) of the way in which members of a group, related to each of two other contending groups, were enabled to fight, some on one side and some on the other, without coming into personal conflict with each other. In this case the struggle was between Savai'i and Manono on the one hand and Masanga, which must, I think, be Tuamasanga, on the other, and there were evidently related Atuans supporting each of the two opposing forces. The Atuan force was divided into two sections, of which one [presumably that related to Tuamasanga] fought against Savai'i, and the other [presumably that related to Savai'i] fought against Tuamasanga. It is stated that if in the fight Atuans met Atuans, they would not fight, because a death-blow on either side would give rise to a vendetta which would

[1] Turner, p. 180. [2] Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxvi, p. 295.
[3] Turner, p. 253; von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. xiii, p. 62.
[4] Turner, p. 30. [5] *Ibid.* p. 27.

prevent the two parts of Atua from combining for a common object[1].

I will now give one or two examples illustrating the customs to which I have referred. Stuebel tells us of eight families or villages in Atua, Savai'i and Manono which were spoken of as the eight families of the Malietoa of Tuamasanga, and on their part called him their son, on account of the various marriages which a number of chiefs of the Malietoa family had concluded with great ladies of those eight villages. If the Malietoa waged war against a district he could call for the help of these villages. So also the *tuiaana* Tupua had villages, called the families of Tupua, in Atua and Savai'i, and it is evident from the context, though not actually stated, that Stuebel means to imply that a similar war relationship arose as regarded them[2]. These *ainga* villages, as Stuebel calls them (they were what I call village districts), of the Malietoa included the village district of Falealili, on the south side of Atua, near the Tuamasanga boundary, and the village district of Saluafata, on the northern coast of Atua; and the *ainga* villages of the *tuiaana* included the village of Salani in Falealili. It seems that his apparent inclusion of the whole of Falealili in the *ainga* relationship with the Malietoa was not quite correct, because he says elsewhere that, whilst Salani was *ainga* to the *tuiaana*, the other parts of Falealili were *ainga* to the Malietoa[3]. I have investigated and verified from Krämer's book the matrimonial origins of most of the *ainga* branches of the Malietoa and *tuiaana* referred to by Stuebel, but I do not propose to introduce the detailed proofs here, as Stuebel vouches for them; the group distinction between Salani and the other villages of Falealili has been partly seen in the discussion of social grouping. Now so long as the call of a Malietoa or a *tuiaana* to outside *ainga* families to help in war did not involve them in fighting against other people to whom also they were *ainga*, no social difficulty would arise, but otherwise it would do so; and we have an example of this with reference to these Atua families, for Krämer tells us how, so recently as 1894, two village districts in Atua—Saluafata and Falealili, having close kinship relations with the Malietoa of Tuamasanga, fought with them against Aana and Atua, Falealili having done so to the very last, when all the other

[1] Goodenough, p. 199.

[2] Stuebel, p. 99. Cf. (as regards the Malietoa) Stuebel, p. 109; Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 222 *sq.*

[3] Stuebel, p. 94 and *note*.

ainga families had long since deserted them[1]. We can see in this a picture of a number of families living in Atua, but *ainga* to the Malietoa of Tuamasanga, placed in a difficulty between their duty to their own divisional king, to whom they were also *ainga*, and to this outside king, and of the way in which they supported the Malietoa at the outset, but, with one exception, dropped off and deserted him.

An interesting example of the social, as distinguished from the local, basis of co-operation in war is afforded by the island of Savai'i. We have seen in the discussion of social grouping that there were, scattered round the coast of that island, the village districts of two families, the Tangaroa and Muliana, which, though of common origin, had become quite distinct; and we have seen that each of them elected its own chief or head. I will make the geographical distribution of their village districts clear by giving a list of them all, starting at the north-western corner of Savai'i, travelling eastwards, and so going round the island, giving the names of the village districts in the order in which they occur, and adding in brackets after the name of each village district the initial of the name of the family whose home it was. On the north coast (one near its western end and the other near its eastern end) were Vaisala (T) and Safune (T). On the east coast were Lealatele (M), Amoa (M) and (in the little islet of Iva) Vaiafai (T). On the south coast was Sili (in Ngautavai) (T) and Ngataivai (M)—these two being close together. On the west coast was Salailua (M).

Now Krämer tells us of inter-village fighting which once took place in Savai'i. Sili (in Ngautavai) was fighting against its next-door neighbour Ngataivai; Iva (that is Vaiafai) was engaged with Amoa, some way north up the coast, with intervening village districts of other families between them; there was a conflict between Salailua, some way down towards the south on the western coast, and Vaisala, on the north coast, just beyond the north-western point, several other village districts being between them; and Safune, on the north coast, was struggling with Lealatele, not far off, but round the north-eastern headland, and with intervening village districts[2]. A comparison of the names will show that it was a fight between the Tangaroa people on the one hand, and the Muliana people on the other—evidently a struggle between the two families. I suggest that this points definitely to social grouping, based

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 14. [2] *Ibid.* p. 117.

on family relationship, and not to local grouping, based upon common habitation of a geographical area. Probably these two families were not the exclusive occupants of the respective village districts concerned; but possibly it was they alone who took part in the fighting. During the war the son of a Muliana woman by a Safata (Tuamasanga) husband was surprised whilst fishing by people from Sili and Vaiafai, and killed; and his mother's lament over his death is full of reproaches against the leading people of each of the four Muliana village districts for not having saved him[1]; thus illustrating still further the idea of the duty of mutual defence as between the scattered branches of the same family.

I have no doubt that with further search I could find other examples illustrating the bearing of social relationship on war, but those given are, I think, sufficient to illustrate the matter.

I have referred in a previous chapter to the extraordinary privileges which, according to Pritchard and Krämer, were accorded to a sister's son prior to and in the course of the fighting.

Krämer gives us scattered information as to bonds of union, apparently military or largely so, between some of the village districts, though he says very little about them, and does not offer any explanation. The connection appears to have been distinct from that between praying (*alataua*) and fighting (*ituau*) villages to which I have referred in discussing political areas and systems—indeed the examples given by Krämer are all in Aana and Atua, which, as we have seen, did not possess *alataua* districts, except so far as their chief council places (Leulumoenga and Lufilufi) took upon themselves the office. Nofoali'i and Satapuala were bound together in war, the bond being called *laufiso ma tapuala*[2]. These were two village districts on the north coast of Aana, and as there were other village districts between them, the bond can hardly have been local (as distinguished from social) in character. Falelatai formed a union with Falease'ela and Lefanga called *laulua a to'omanga*; the basis of the connection was mutual support, this being indicated by the term *to'omanga*, which Krämer interprets as meaning to lean exhausted on the staff, while the other comes to aid[3]. These were village districts on the south coast of Aana. Fasito'outa and Fasito'otai called each other brothers, and with

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 117 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 155.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 163 and *note* 1.

their sister Faleasi'u were collectively called Pito'au. They not only held an important position in peace, but also led in war —apparently, from the context, this referred to a war by all Aana[1]. These were all village districts on the north shore of Aana; Fasito'uta and Faleasi'u adjoined each other, but Fasito'otai was separated from the other two by intervening village districts. Saluafata and Solosolo called each other brothers, and the bond was called *laulua a le atua*[2]. These were two neighbouring village districts on the north coast of Atua.

I have not been able to find any evidence giving a clue to the origin of the connections between these village districts except in the case of the brother village districts in Aana of Fasito'otai and Fasito'outa. As regards them, there was a story of a dying chief of Aana who made his appointment (what writers speak of as a "will") thus; he broke his *to'oto'o* (sceptre) in two, and gave half to each of his two sons, appointing one to rule over the district to seaward (Fasito'otai) and the other to rule over the district further inland (Fasito'outa)[3]. A curious feature of this case is the recognition of the village district of Faleasi'u as sister of the other two. As to this I draw attention to what has appeared in the discussion, under the heading of matrilineal descent, of the custom for a succeeding chief to give a fine mat to his sister on the death of his predecessor, and to the extension of that custom to the descendants of the brother and sister, concerning which Krämer says that one family was the brother and the other the sister, and to Schultz's statement as to the practice of distinguishing, for the purpose of inheritance, which, as I pointed out, involved succession, between the descendants from the common ancestor through the male and female sides respectively. It may well be, in the case of these brothers and sister village districts, that the people thought that the families occupying two of them were descended from two brothers, and the family occupying the third village district was descended from their sister. It is possible that this had also been a case of the establishment of a sister's family near to those of her two brothers for the purpose of keeping the peace between them, and exercising some sort of control over them in the way disclosed by the story of the brothers Lafai and Fune and their aunt (their father's sister) Fotu, which is also discussed in connection with matrilineal descent. However

[1] *Ibid.* p. 153.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 275.
[3] Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxvi, p. 301.

all this may be, I think it probable that these connected villages were bound together by a tie of kinship, though I have not the material to prove it.

I may say, concerning the subject of vendetta, that punishment for wrong-doing was in some cases inflicted by the *fono*; but that the matter rested to a large degree with the parties themselves, and it is to this portion of the subject that I am now going to draw attention. Vengeance for murder was, according to Wilkes, inflicted by the "friends" of the murdered man, but it fell, not only on the guilty party, but on his friends and relations, who, with their property, were subjects of retaliation; in connection with this he speaks of the injured people, who might accept compensation, as including the man's family, friends, village, or whole district, which, according to my interpretation, means in effect his social group, great or small[1]. Turner says that death was the usual punishment for murder and adultery and the "injured party" was at liberty to seek revenge on the brother, son, or any member of the family to which the guilty party belonged[2]. Stair says that in cases of adultery the injured party and his "friends" watched for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance upon the offender, or the first person belonging to his settlement (my village district) they could catch[3]. He speaks of the punishment by destruction of property, including houses, live-stock and plantations, being inflicted by one family on another, and sometimes by the whole district, and points out that thus a whole family or district suffered for the offence of one of its members[4]. Elopement by the wife of a chief with another chief was a cause of war between the subjects of the two chiefs[5]; and elopement by the discarded wife of a chief with a commoner was followed by the clubbing of either the lover or any near relative of his, either of which was regarded as a sufficient retribution, and removed all the husband's claim to the girl[6]. Williams tells us of the killing of a Samoan chief whose death was the subject of rejoicing by all parties, but which nevertheless had to be avenged because of his relationship and the binding rule of vengeance[7]. According to Hood, the appropriate atonement was a life for a life; and he refers to the killing by a chief of an English sailor, which in consequence of the low class of the latter was considered to

[1] Wilkes, vol. II, p. 150. [2] Turner, p. 178. [3] Stair, p. 101.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 91. [5] Wilkes, vol. II, p. 150; Pritchard, p. 134.
[6] Pritchard, p. 134. [7] Williams, pp. 333 *sq.*

be atoned for sufficiently by the killing of a low-caste Samoan[1]. Stuebel says death was requited by death; they did not wait to catch the murderer, but would kill any member of his family[2]. According to von Bülow, punishment for murder, homicide or adultery was left to private vengeance, which was directed not only against the person of the criminal, but against any member of his kin[3]. Ella says blood revenge was insatiable until a victim had been obtained to appease the thirst for vengeance[4].

TONGA

There is no information from Tonga by which we can associate war definitely with social groups, but there are a few short statements to which I will refer. West says that in a war of any magnitude universal conscription was enforced, none being excused but the aged or bodily infirm[5]; and that great chiefs had to support the king, military service being the title by which they retained their possessions[6]. Thomson tells us that each chief had hereditary retainers who followed him to battle[7]. If we have reached the conclusion that grouping in Tonga was probably primarily social, then we may believe that the basis of support in war was similar to that of Samoa; and Thomson's reference to *hereditary* retainers suggests that the people who had to fight with a chief were those who and whose ancestors had followed him and his ancestors in the past, in which case there is a probability, seen in the evidence adduced as to social grouping, that the link between him and them was social in character.

Mariner says that in a civil war it often happened that sons had to fight against their fathers, and brothers against their brothers, this being rendered common by the adherence to an old-established custom binding every man in honour to join the cause of that chief on whose island he happened to be[8] at the time the war was declared, unless some circumstance, such as particular relationship between great men, engaged the chief of the island, upon earnest request, to give him liberty to

[1] Hood, pp. 133 *sq.* [2] Stuebel, p. 133; cf. p. 134.
[3] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, p. 193. Cf. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 96.
[4] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 633. [5] West, p. 266. [6] *Ibid.* p. 262.
[7] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 222.
[8] I do not think the man could be there unless he was in some way related to people in the island or district or had been accepted and adopted there. In that case he would belong in a sense to that group as well as to his group of origin.

depart[1]; and he gives an example of an attack upon a fortress, prior to which the related people on the two opposing sides were given an opportunity of meeting to take what might be a last farewell of one another, those in the fortress coming out for the purpose[2]. Thomson refers to the custom for each man to fight on the side of the people with whom he happened to be on the outbreak of hostilities, but says nothing about the possible obtaining by a man of permission to depart. He tells us, however, of an attack in 1840 by Josiah Tubu upon an enemy garrison, prior to which an intimation was, by his instructions, given by such of his people as had relations or friends among the enemy that they might desert, assuring them of safety; numbers of them did this, and joined the besiegers, thus leaving the garrison too weak to resist, and resulting in their surrender without the loss of a single life[3]. The practice, referred to by Mariner, of giving a man liberty to depart is, I suppose, based upon an objection to fighting between relations, such as we have seen in Samoa. In the case quoted by Thomson the deserters were probably related to the people in the garrison, as well as to members of the attacking party, and perhaps had to elect whether to join in fighting their relations outside or to join in fighting their relations inside. I may point out, however, that an assurance of safety may have meant that they would not be expected to join the attacking party in the expected battle, in which case their desertion would have got them and their relatives on the other side out of their difficulty, even if there had been a fight. I have found no Tongan evidence bearing upon the question of vendetta.

There are one or two passages in Mariner which perhaps suggest the possibility of divine disapproval of fighting between relatives. Having told us that fighting on consecrated ground was a tabooed act, for which atonement by sacrifice would have to be made to the gods (which is of course another matter), he goes on to say that if a man were guilty of theft *or any other crime* (my italics) he had broken the taboo, and was supposed to be liable to be bitten by sharks[4]. The juxtaposition of these two statements suggests the possibility that he had in his mind fighting as a crime, and the vengeance of the sharks would obviously be under supernatural direction; also the disapproval

[1] Mariner, vol. I, p. 162 *note*.
[2] *Ibid*. pp. 161 *sq*.
[3] Thomson, *D.P.M*. pp. 352 *sq*.
[4] Mariner, vol. II, p. 186.

of fighting would hardly apply to war against a stranger. Then again he tells us that on the occasion of a peace-making the persons who conducted the negotiations wore the tokens of humility [mats and green leaves], "not towards the enemy, but to the gods, as fulfilling a commission sacred in its nature"[1].

SOCIETY ISLANDS

Our knowledge of the political division of the Society Islands is neither so exact nor so minute as that of which we can avail ourselves in considering matters relating to Samoa. Ra'iatea had from distant times had its kings whose rule extended over the whole island, and Borabora was under the jurisdiction of a king. Tahiti, on the other hand, was divided into a number of separate areas, each of which had its own king or ruler; but prior to the intervention of white men in relatively modern times there had been no one who could be called king of the whole island. No doubt, when either Ra'iatea or Borabora was at war with people from some other island, its king would call out the people to fight; but this fact, even if assumed, does not, in the absence of definite evidence of a general social relationship of the inhabitants of each of these islands, help us much in dealing with the question now under consideration. As regards Tahiti, writers seem to have imagined sometimes that powerful head chiefs or kings of certain districts ruled the whole island; but I think that, in spite of this we may regard their evidence as referring to the customs of head chiefs of districts or associated groups of districts, and in considering the evidence I do so with this reservation.

The Teva people provide us with what seems to be a clear example. There was between them, according to their tradition, a social connection of common ancestry; each of their eight districts had its chief, and one of these—originally, apparently, the Vaiari chief, but afterwards the chief of Papara—was the head chief of all the Teva; and this head chief could call out all the Teva districts to war, and they would obey his summons[2]. I do not think this general statement is weakened by the fact that in the attack upon Amo and Purea of Papara a Teva chief joined with the people of Attahuru against them; such things happen sometimes, and in this case the reason seems to have been the need to thwart Purea's ambitious desire to secure for

[1] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 194.

[2] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 8 *sqq.*

her son a dominating position in Tahiti as a whole, a condition which, as Ari'i Taimai has said, had never prevailed before. Passing now to general evidence, Ellis says that when war was determined the king's herald was sent round the island, or the dependent districts, and all were required to arm, and repair to the appointed rendezvous, and a subsequent reference to the leading to war by the chief of each district of his own tenantry shows that the summons was sent by the head chief or king of the whole area to the chiefs of districts, each of whom would collect his own people[1]. This practice in war is referred to by Cook also[2]; and Moerenhout says that refusal to obey the summons was a sign of revolt[3]. The value for our present purpose of this evidence depends of course upon a supposition of social relationship, such as we have seen in Samoa, between the king and his chiefs of districts, and between them and their followers.

I have not found any general statement that it was a chief's duty to go to the help in war of a relative in some other part of the island or the Society group, or any proved example of such a thing having occurred. The London missionaries refer to two incidents, however, which at all events point in this direction. On one occasion a message was received by Pomare I announcing that the island of Ra'iatea was at war with another island and was not winning. So Pomare, "who is a near relation" of the chief of Ra'iatea, sent him muskets, and he and his son Tu went to Pare to pray for the success of these weapons[4]. The other incident was the receipt by Pomare of news that the chief of Borabora, "a relation of his," was in a dangerous situation, his country being involved in war, and he himself wounded; so Captain Wilson promised Pomare that he would visit Borabora and give the chief some muskets[5]. The close relationship of Pomare to the royal family of Ra'iatea has been disclosed in a previous chapter, and he probably would also be related to the chiefs of Borabora, as it and Ra'iatea were closely associated; but I have not investigated this point. The missionary records, however, draw attention to the relationship in both cases. Pomare only sent arms, and did not send troops to the assistance of the kings of Ra'iatea and Borabora; but it may be that there was a reason why he could not do more than

[1] Ellis, vol. I, p. 279.
[2] Cook, vol. I, p. 226.
[3] Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 32.
[4] L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. I, p. 175.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 229.

this—indeed it is possible that it was all he had been asked to do.

Whatever may have been the mere human and social views of the Society Islanders as to fighting between near relations, it must have been a thing to be avoided because of the grave disapproval of it exhibited by the *oromatua*, who, I may say, were the spirits of dead relations. These spirits preserved peace in families, and punished the slightest domestic dissensions or quarrels with illness or other evils, smiting the quarrellers themselves, their children, or those most dear to them indiscriminately[1]. In Tahiti, according to the evidence, the great war god Oro had to be satisfied as to the need for and justice of proposed hostilities, or at all events propitiated, before groups of people commenced them. Ellis says that where war was in agitation a human sacrifice was offered to Oro. His image was brought out, and a red feather, taken from the person of the victim [? or from the image], was given to the proposing fighters, by whom it was regarded as the symbol of Oro's presence and sanction. The explanation given of this is that the commencement of war, the violation of a treaty, was called the *aoti a pito*, the cutting of the cord of union, and the human sacrifice was offered to prevent the gods from being angry at the treachery[2]. So again he tells us that in the ceremony of making peace at the conclusion of the hostilities a strip of native cloth, sometimes red on one side and white on the other [red and white were both sacred] was joined together by both parties in token of their union; imprecations were invoked on those who should rend the *apaa pia* or band of peace, and the *apaa pia* and a wreath of green boughs which had previously been woven by the two parties as a bond of reconciliation and friendship were offered to the gods, who were called upon to avenge the treachery of those who should rend the band or break the wreath[3]. These two ceremonies, taken together, seem to be capable of the explanation that on the making of peace the parties entered into a mutual covenant, and each of them gave, as it were, security to the other for its adhesion to its bond by subjecting itself to divine vengeance in case it broke that bond, and so, if it afterwards proposed to do so, had to secure divine sanction of the breach; but I think there was something more in the matter.

[1] Moerenhout, vol. 1, p. 454; cf. pp. 538 *sq.*
[2] Ellis, vol. 1, p. 276. [3] *Ibid.* p. 318.

In missionary times the Pomares of the north or north-west seem to have been regarded by the missionaries as the one and only royal family of Tahiti, and they and their relations, the Attahuru chiefs of the west, were in fact in the main the dominating rulers, at all events of the larger peninsula; and it was between these closely-related lines that the chief struggles for power were carried on. I am speaking of a period of which my historical narrative only reaches the commencement. So also Oro was regarded by the missionaries as the one and only great war god, which he seems to have been in these northern and western areas, and perhaps elsewhere also. The Teva chiefs of Papara appear to have been at that time of relatively small power and political importance, and the missionaries apparently did not know very much of the Teva people as an old and powerful group. I think then that we must interpret Ellis's evidence in the way in which the people probably looked at the matter, and conclude that, just as the *oromatua* disapproved of domestic quarrelling between family relations, so also the war god Oro disapproved of fighting between the related groups that were linked together by their mutual worship of him.

Turning now to the subject of vendetta, in case of a serious offence the whole family or district took it up, and in the absence of a peace-offering, made and accepted, went to war with their adversaries; it was the weakest family or district that had to suffer, as all the relations on both sides adopted the quarrel[1]. The conquering party would in a case of murder take possession of the house, land and goods of the other party[2]. Tyerman and Bennet say that in Tahiti their revenge was implacable, following its victim from island to island, or waiting from year to year, till it could revel in his agonies and exult in his death[3]. So also they say that in Borabora the killing of a man's dog could only be appeased with the offender's blood; and if the owner of the dog had not himself an opportunity of killing this man he would leave the legacy of blood to his son, and even to his children's children[4]. Ari'i Taimai supplies an example of this idea of family revenge. The sons of an Eimeo woman having been murdered by the Atiroos[5], she "with the forms of the most sacred custom" bathed herself in their blood and swore revenge. To secure this she required

[1] Wilson, p. 326.
[2] Cook, vol. VI, p. 158.
[3] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 142.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 16.
[5] I cannot identify these people.

help, so she appealed to certain chiefs to whom she was related, basing her claim on relationship, and in each place she cut her head with shark's tooth, thus signifying a blood feud; some of the chiefs refused, but this was merely because none of them was powerful enough to undertake the vendetta; ultimately she secured the support of a chieftainess, and was taken to a taboo stream and her blood washed off, this being apparently the ceremonial method of undertaking the revenge, and the cry was "Death to the Atiroos, in Moorea (Eimeo) and Tahiti none shall live"[1].

This shedding by a person of his own blood as a symbol of a blood feud, and the washing of it off by another person is an interesting matter. I have referred to the attempt of a chieftainess relation of Purea to dispute the high position which she was claiming for her son, and to the cutting by this lady of her head with a shark's tooth, letting the blood flow into a hole which she had dug in the ground, as a protest and an appeal to blood, which, unless wiped away, had to be atoned by blood, and to the drying up of the blood by Amo's brother, the high priest of Amo and Purea, whereby he wiped away the feud as far as he was concerned. Baessler, in describing a Tahitian *marae*, refers to two stones with cavities in them, called *upu* or stones of vengeance, *upu* meaning literally "prayer." He says that if anyone suffered a wrong, he fled to these stones, cut his face with sharks' teeth, made a loud plaint, and let blood flow into the cavity. If the high priest recognized the plaint as just, he washed the blood out as a sign that he took the matter on himself and would induce the chief to avenge the petitioner; but if he left the blood alone, the suit was rejected[2]. These three examples all agree in showing that the shedding of a person's own blood was a symbol of blood revenge, though apparently the offence to be avenged was not necessarily that of killing or blood shedding. The wiping out of the blood is explained in two cases to have been a sign of active help, but in the other to have been only one of exclusion from the feud.

HERVEY ISLANDS

I have referred in a previous chapter to the main groups of people, each with its traditional origin, and each with its own special god, into which the population of the island of Mangaia

[1] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 164 *sqq.* [2] Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 118 *sq.*

was divided. Gill frequently refers to these groups, calling them, sometimes "tribes," sometimes "clans." He is clearly speaking of them when he says that in Mangaia each clan had its separate gods, customs, traditions and songs, and formed one great family with a single head and pledged to defend one another to the death. These clans, he tells us, were almost always at war with each other, so that a man was often compelled to fight against his wife's nearest relatives[1]; and this would be so, because, as we have seen, these clans seem to have been, to a large extent, exogamous intermarrying groups. I have found no reference to a general right to summon related allies to help in war, but we have had an example of this being done in Aitutaki where Maeva-rangi sent for assistance to his relatives in Rarotonga and they came.

The Mangaians recognized the wrongfulness of killing a relation, and apparently belief as to divine disapproval was associated with their attitude in the matter. This is perhaps seen in their association, to which I have already referred, of the spirit world of the gods with the visible world of men, and the idea that there must be no schism or rent in the former, lest it should lead to divisions and trouble with war and bloodshed in the latter; but we have more definite evidence of it. Gill says it was wrong to kill a relative, and such an act would bring upon the offender an illness—the punishment of the gods[2]. An example of this is given in the case of a man who belonged on his father's side to one clan, but had been adopted into another clan whose chief was related to him through his mother. War took place between the two clans; and he, fighting on behalf of the clan that had adopted him, killed many of his paternal relatives of the other clan, and for this offence the gods punished him with insanity, which was not removed until he had made atonement to them[3]. We find a variation of this idea in a statement that it was *ta-atua*, the greatest possible sin, to kill a fellow-worshipper by stealth, though in general it might be done in battle; but the stealthy blow was regarded as inflicted on the god himself, the literal meaning of *ta-atua* being "god-striking" or "god-killing"[4]. I think that community of worship was more or less associated with social relationship, though it would extend considerably the recognition of the degree of kinship which would be regarded as relationship.

[1] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 136.
[2] Gill, *L.S.I.* pp. 70–183.
[3] Gill, *S.L.P.* pp. 137 *sqq.*
[4] Gill, *Myths*, p. 38.

Mangaia affords some curious illustrations of expedients for getting rid of blood relations or fellow-worshippers without personally killing them. We are told that Teuanuku, Lord of Mangaia, seduced the wife of Raei, a secondary chief. They were both worshippers of the god Motoro; so Raei could not himself kill Teuanuku, but employed for the purpose a member of the Tongan tribe[1], who were not worshippers of this god. A chief named Oriau, by thieving in another part of the island, had incurred the vengeance of the entire population of that district, which they had wreaked upon the chief's cousin, who was himself also a chief. The cousin therefore punished Oriau by hurling him down a chasm, but it did not kill him, and he managed to crawl out, and soon after repeated the offence with the same undesirable consequences to his cousin as before; so the cousin again threw him into the chasm, being determined that he should die, and this time he was first bound hand and foot, so that he could not escape. It is explained in the narrative that "according to the ideas of those days," the cousin dared not shed the man's blood, save on the field of battle, under pain of offending their clan-god Motoro[2]. It will be noticed that this is not quite consistent with certain previous statements, because of the idea involved in it that killing was allowed provided blood was not spilt. The king of Mangaia, who told this story to Gill, added that he himself took part in disposing in the same way of a relative who had repeated offences of a similar kind[3]. Potai, who wanted to bring about the death of his uncle Namu, and dare not kill him with his own hands, got out of the difficulty by securing him by the hair, whilst he was speared to death by others[4]. A curious feature of this case is found in the lament for Namu, in which we are told that "the garment of the uncle was rent by the nephew," this being interpreted by Gill to be a figurative way of saying that claims of kindred were disregarded by Potai, the garment representing the entire clan, which was split up by the murder of Namu[5].

Rongo was the great war god of Mangaia, and though he was primarily and more especially the god of the Ngariki groups, he had, as we have seen, to be acknowledged by the chiefs of the other groups also. I have in a previous chapter referred to the rules that blood might not be spilt without the

[1] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 148.
[2] Gill, *L.S.I.* pp. 48 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 49.
[4] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 110.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 111 and *note* 2.

consent of the great sacred chief given in the name of Rongo, whose high priest he was; that war could not be commenced without previous human sacrifice, the victim being offered by the sacred chief to the god; and that subsequently, on the termination of the war, it was necessary that before the solemn beating of the drum of peace another human victim should be offered to Rongo. Human sacrifice before war was, I think, a practice in various parts of Polynesia, and could be readily explained as being merely intended, as very likely it was in many islands, to secure the helpful support in the fighting of the god. I suggested as regards Tahiti, however, where we had definite evidence of disapproval by the *oromatua* of internal quarrelling and fighting, that the human sacrifice offered to Oro before commencing war was based upon the belief that this god disapproved of fighting between his worshippers, this being consistent with some features of the ceremonies before and after the fighting. In Mangaia, as we have seen, the gods disapproved of the killing of a relative, either in peace, or apparently, in war, or, as it is put in one case, of a fellow-worshipper, though the latter is said to have been *in general* permissible in battle. The Mangaian ceremonies before and after war do not present the special features which induced me to suggest the idea of divine disapproval in Tahiti; but I again point out that wars between one clan and another would often involve fighting between near relatives, and that Rongo was in a way a national god of the whole island[1], and suggest the possibility that the Mangaian ceremonies had their basis or origin in ideas similar to those which I have previously suggested concerning Tahiti.

As regards the question of vendetta, they had, according to Williams, a custom, called *ono*, of systematic revenge for the killing or injuring of a relative, the duty of vengeance being passed down as a legacy from father to son, even up to the third or fourth generation, and the punishment might fall either upon the offender himself or upon some other member of his family[2]. We are told of a priest-king of Mangaia who was a cannibal half his life in order "to avenge the wrongs of his family"[3]. In Rarotonga, in case of theft, the relatives and friends of the aggrieved would go to the house of the offender,

[1] Apparently not only the Ngariki people, but the others also, offered sacrifice to Rongo prior to war; but the proof of this would take up considerable space.
[2] Williams, p. 234. Cf. Gill, *Jottings*, p. 234. [3] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 333.

and take any article of value, perhaps break down his house and destroy his bananas, the thief being sometimes killed on the spot[1]. In Mangaia the murder of a near relative was often punished by setting fire to the house of the murderer when he and his family were fast asleep in it[2]. According to certain specific accounts, a man's duty to help and protect his own relations extended to his wife's brother[3] and even other relations of hers[4]. Writers give some historical examples of the operation of the system of the family character of punishment[5]; but I need not detail these here. As a final illustration of the social character of all these practices, I refer to a statement by Moss that in Rarotonga, though no person wronged by another member of his own family would think of seeking legal redress, even if land had been fraudulently alienated, bitter feuds arose between separate families, and sometimes extended to the *ngati* and the tribe. Pride of place and power found vent in a corporate, instead of an individual form[6].

Gill, speaking presumably of Mangaia, and perhaps of other islands, says that in order that the duty of revenge might not be forgotten, it was customary to make tattoo marks on the throat and arms[7]. Buzacott says that in 1828 the Rarotongans were notorious for their vengefulness. On receiving an injury, if it could not be avenged at the moment, it would be recorded by a certain mark tattooed on the throat. If the father died unavenged, the son would receive the mark on his throat; and thus it would go on from generation to generation, and nothing would obliterate the injury but the death of some one of the family by whom it had been inflicted. Some had two marks, others three, and some so many that their throats were covered[8].

MARQUESAS

I have not been able to demonstrate the social relationship between adjoining groups and sub-groups of people in Nukuhiva except in the case of the Teii folk of Anna Maria Bay; but as regards this I have shown in a previous chapter that there were several districts in this bay, each with its chief, that the chief of one of those districts was king over them all, and

[1] Williams, p. 127.
[2] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 312.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 324 *sqq.*, 42 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 344 *sq.*
[5] Large, *J.P.S.* vol. XXII, pp. 68 *sqq.* Gill, *S.L.P.* pp. 99 *sqq.*, 199. Gill's papers, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 206.
[6] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 23.
[7] Gill, *Jottings*, p. 234.
[8] Buzacott, p. 244.

that the chiefs of the other districts seem to have been related closely to him, thus forming something in the nature of a family circle. It is in the light of this information that we may read Shillibeer's statement that this kingdom was subdivided into villages or districts, each having a chief tributary to the king, who was at all times ready to lead his warriors to battle at the sound of the conch[1]. It is extremely probable that a similar system prevailed in the districts and sub-districts of other parts of the island, and if so we may reasonably think that the basis of co-operation in war was primarily social in character. The effect of the social bond upon war is found also in the custom under which any member of a group nearly related by blood or marriage to persons of another, might, not only during peace, but also in time of war, pass with impunity from the territories of the one to those of the other, and be regarded as a friend in both[2]; and such persons were employed to bear proposals for peace[3]. It is also found in the fact that in acts of violence and death in war persons and families allied by marriage were always spared[4].

A curious conception of the effect of an intermarriage between two groups which would otherwise be under no restraint against fighting with each other is disclosed by the following story. The son of the king or chief of the Tayo Hoae [Teii of Taio-hae, or Anna Maria, Bay] tribe had married the daughter of the king of the Taipii tribe, and she had come to him by the sea. Hence the two tribes were in a way united; but only as regarded the sea. This was therefore taboo, and could not be contaminated by blood of intertribal fighting, and the tribes could not therefore engage in naval warfare; but they could fight by land as hard as they liked. To this situation there were two possible sequels. One was that the prince should quarrel with his wife, and she return home to her parents; this would have removed the bond, and its consequent taboo, and naval fighting would at once have been permissible. The other was that she should die among her husband's people; in that case the sea taboo would have extended to the land, and peace would be assured; for she would have become an *atua*, and would hover over "these regions," and might not be disturbed. The Tayo Hoae tribe also had a necessary peace with a tribe

[1] Shillibeer, p. 39.

[2] Stewart, vol. I, p. 289. Cf. Porter, vol. II, p. 49; Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 258.

[3] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 258.

[4] Stewart, vol. I, p. 317.

of the interior, whose king had married a Tayo Hoae princess. This prevented war between them by land; and, as they could not fight at sea, peace reigned supreme[1].

The general question of disapproval of fighting between relations, and of the vendetta or clan principles disclosed by the methods of revenge, is illustrated by the following statements. Mathias says that, though the "tribes" were ferocious and savage towards one another, members of the same tribe were gentle and amiable. If the taboo was observed, every member of the tribe enjoyed liberty; there were no reprisals, and no quarrels or disputes even among the children; and a case of homicide within the tribe was unheard of[2]. Melville gives glowing accounts of the kindness, humanity, good fellowship, affection and absence of internal quarrelling which he noticed among the Taipii[3]. War sometimes arose from a petty theft or an insult or injury offered to an individual, in the resentment of which the whole power of the "tribe" to which he belonged was called into action[4]. In a case of murder the "family" of the murdered man united against the murderer; but the needful revenge was regarded as accomplished by killing, not necessarily the murderer himself, but either him or some member, even a woman or child, of his family[5]. Abductions were sometimes followed by tribal wars[6]. Coulter was told by a Nukuhivan chief that his old mother and little child had once been carried off, and the chief showed him five skulls of persons whom he had killed in revenge, but added these were not yet enough for the child[7].

Tautain says that a tattoo mark representing a hook on a man's cheek and neck was an indication of a grudge, and that in case of vengeance to be exercised, women often had one side of the chest, including the breast, tattooed[8]. "Grudge" sounds feeble, but it must imply some idea of vengeance; unfortunately I have not in my copy of this passage a note of the French terminology of the original. So also, according to Porter, old men sometimes had the head entirely shaved, except for one lock, worn loose or put up in a knot, on the crown; this mode was only adopted by them when they had made a solemn vow,

[1] Krusenstern, vol. I, pp. 168 *sq.* Cf. Lisiansky, p. 80.
[2] Matthias, pp. 93, 95, 105. [3] Melville, pp. 225–227.
[4] Stewart, vol. I, p. 278. Cf. Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 286.
[5] Langsdorff, vol. I, p. 177. Cf. Krusenstern, vol. I, p. 166.
[6] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 289. [7] Coulter, pp. 184 *sq.*
[8] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VII, p. 247.

such as to avenge the death of some near relation, and the lock was never cut off until the vow had been fulfilled[1]. Baessler says that an image 4 to 8 cm. long, carved out of human bones, and fastened to a strand of the hair of the head, was worn until the death of a friend or relation to whom it referred had been avenged[2]. Des Vergnes also refers to these objects, but could not find out what they signified[3]; von den Steinen speaks of them as emblems of vengeance, and says they were images of the ancestor gods[4].

PAUMOTU

We have seen the evidence, small in quantity and fragmentary in character, which seems to indicate a probable relationship between the king of Mangareva and his chiefs, and perhaps between the latter and the villages in their districts; and Caillot says that the kings of Taravai were relations of those of Mangareva, and were almost always their allies[5], though elsewhere he tells us that the Taravai kings along with others from time to time stood on no ceremony as regards making war on their suzerain[6]. This last statement, pointing merely to a readiness to rebel against him, does not however destroy any inference as to the general custom for them to support him, an example of which may be seen in the support they gave him in fighting against Taku. Caillot, in speaking of the rivalry between Rikitea (the home of the kings) and Taku, explains that private quarrels gave birth to public quarrels, "for the collective body of natives was affected by an offence against an individual," and caused national wars[7]. Moerenhout says that a dying father would tell his son the name of an enemy on whom he had not been able to avenge himself, and the son on dying would tell his son, and so on[8]. There are examples of this system of vengeance. According to one story, Moeava of Takaroa Island, whose doings have been told in part in a previous chapter, in avenging the murder of his adopted children, not only slew some men who had apparently taken part in the deed, but sailed the seas among the islands that had been implicated in the matter, and massacred their inhabitants without mercy[9]. So again there is an account of a case of eleven

[1] Porter, vol. I, p. 119. Cf. Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LIII, p. 68.
[2] Baessler, *N.S.B.* p. 199. [3] Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LIII, p. 68.
[4] Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. XXV, p. 509.
[5] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 237. [6] *Ibid.* p. 234. [7] *Ibid.* p. 177.
[8] Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 192. [9] Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, pp. 33 *sqq.*

warriors who, on landing on an island, learnt that several of their people who had gone there before them had been killed, whereupon they killed every man, woman and child on the island[1].

NIUE

I have found no information about Niue touching the question of social war, except what has appeared in previous chapters. There were two main groups of people, occupying the northern and southern portions of the island, who from time immemorial had fought with each other; but, though it seems probable that they were, or had been, two separate social groups of different origins, there is no evidence to prove this. As regards personal matters, whilst the slaying of a potential enemy was a virtue, the murder of a member of the tribe was punished by death[2].

ROTUMA

There is, I think, reason for thinking that the people of each of the several districts into which Rotuma was divided formed a social group, the chief of the district bearing the family or group name; and if this was so, then the statement that the groups were often at war with one another suggests that their warfare was largely social in character.

FOTUNA

We have seen how in Tahiti a woman bathed herself in the blood of her murdered sons on swearing revenge, and that a blood feud was sometimes indicated by a person causing his own blood to flow. There is an account of fighting in Fotuna in which the brother of the conquered king being wounded, his wife collected in her hands the blood flowing from the wound, and threw it on her head, uttering terrible cries, and the relations of the other wounded collected their blood up to the last drop, and even licked the leaves of grass and shrubs that had been stained with it[3]. It seems quite possible that we have here another example of the same idea.

UVEA

The prevalence of what I am calling vendetta in Uvea is suggested by the statement that if a man committed adultery with the wife of another man, his whole village might

[1] Montiton, vol. VI, p. 503. [2] Thomson, *S.I.* p. 104. [3] *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 384.

be pillaged or sacked by the relatives of the injured man, for there the fault of the individual was generally avenged by punishing all his neighbours[1]; and there is a reference to a case in which a murder "according to the custom of the country" set the whole village at the mercy of the king, in consequence of which the villagers retreated to a neighbouring islet[2].

EASTER ISLAND

Geiseler refers to a past custom of blood vengeance, which had become rare, but which was always required in the case of the killing of a relation, and sometimes involved the killing of the murderer's children[3].

TIKOPIA

In Tikopia we find the belief in divine disapproval of internal quarrelling in the statement that if disputes arose the chiefs rebuked the offenders, and said that the spirits would kill them[4].

NEW HEBRIDES ISLANDS

Gunn says that in Fotuna the people were exceedingly clannish. When a fight was imminent, they would rush for their implements of war to help their friends. Those who were on good terms in ordinary circumstances ranged themselves on opposite sides in battle, according to their relationship to the chief combatants[5]. Every injury, great or small, done to person or property, and every hard word, was avenged. If one of a tribe killed or wounded a man, his friends killed or wounded one of that tribe[6]. An example is given of a man who was shot, and whose brother immediately tried to shoot a relation of the man who was believed to have been the murderer[7]. On the other hand they apparently believed that the gods disapproved of family quarrelling, because there is a record of a case in which the death of a child was attributed to the sin of quarrelling between the parents[8]. In Aniwa the victim of revenge might be the suspected enemy, or any of his family, or his village, or even of his tribe[9]. An example of this is given, and a feature of it is that the avengers, not being able to reach the objects of their vengeance, who were in a district

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 15.
[2] Mangeret, vol. I, p. 167.
[3] Geiseler, p. 28.
[4] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. V, pp. 308 *sq.*
[5] Gunn, pp. 248 *sq.*
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 277 *sq.*
[7] *Ibid.* p. 56.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 273. I gather from the context that this was a pre-Christian belief.
[9] Paton, p. 137.

of Aneiteum, made a deep cut in the earth, which they renewed from time to time, or, according to another version, set up memorial sticks, which were replaced as they rotted away, and finally succeeded in killing some people from that same district of Aneiteum very many years afterwards[1]. In Aneiteum also revenge on account of a murdered father or friend was handed down to posterity if not obtained in the lifetime of the injured party, and here again there was a practice of planting sticks in the ground and renewing them until the wrong was avenged[2].

OBSERVATIONS

There is a feature in the evidence to which I must draw attention. The subject matter of the discussion has been disapproval of fighting within the social group, and the practice of group co-operation in fighting with outsiders; and the evidence shows that in some islands fighting between relatives, and the killing of a relation, was disapproved, not only by public opinion, but by the gods. Nevertheless we have the statements as to quarrels and revenge, including killing, in islands where the belief as to divine disapproval seems to have prevailed, and further evidence of this character will appear when we consider the administration of justice.

If we could assume that these quarrels, with their fatal consequences, never took place between members of the same social group, there would be no inconsistency in the matter, but I do not think they were limited in this way; and indeed we shall see that they were in some places the subjects of adjudication by the *fono* or council of the district, which raises a presumption, or at all events a probability, that the disputants were more or less related to one another. The only explanation I can suggest of the inconsistency which seems to be involved is that relatives were guilty from time to time of breaches of what I may call clan law—which presumably they would be—and that such breaches made permissible punishment adequate to the offence. Probably the degree of closeness of relationship which involved the taboo was not clearly defined, and perhaps varied in different places; and we may well believe that personal quarrels of this sort might arise within a clan, though the members of the clan had to join together in fighting another clan.

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 148 *sqq.* Murray, *Martyrs*, p. 126. Turner, p. 327.
[2] Turner, pp. 326 *sq.*

CHAPTER XXV

THE CHIEFS

PRELIMINARY

I NOW propose to consider the various grades or classes of society in Polynesia, and in doing this I will commence with the chiefs. I must, however, explain, as regards the chiefs, the middle classes, and the order of priesthood, that there are certain questions—the relationship between the classes, the connection between the sacred and secular offices, and the sanctity and powers of the chiefs—which must be postponed until I have dealt with council meetings and administration of justice, so that this first discussion of the matter will in certain respects be somewhat restricted, and so far as the chiefs are concerned it will be very much so; indeed we shall practically be confined to the nomenclature used for the different grades of chiefs. I look upon the whole subject in the light of my belief that the grouping of the people was primarily social, the connection between a great chief or king and the chiefs of the several separate districts forming his dominions, and between the latter and the chiefs or other heads of villages in those districts, and between these again and the domestic households within the villages, being primarily and in the main one of social relationship. When, however, we attempt to differentiate exactly, whether by reference to Polynesian or English terminology, between what we may properly call chiefs and what we should include among the middle classes, we find ourselves in a difficulty. A person who is styled an *ariki*, or by some corresponding term[1], may properly, I think, be spoken of by us as a chief; but even then the question arises, what do we mean by a chief? I do not think it is possible to draw any defined line of demarcation between a chief and a member of

[1] *Ariki* is the full term. In the Society Islands, where, according to the rules of interchange of consonants, the *k* is wanting, it becomes *ari'i*. In Samoa, where the *k* is wanting and the *r* is changed into *l*, it becomes *ali'i*. In Tonga, where the *k* is present and the *r* is changed into *l*, it should, I imagine, be *aliki*; but it is in fact *eiki*. In the Marquesas, where the *k* is present and the *r* is wanting, it becomes *a'iki*.

the middle classes, because I do not believe there was such a line, the middle class people having in fact been, as a rule, related, closely or distantly, to their chiefs. Even if we recognize that the term *ariki*, or its equivalent, was applied primarily to a person of relatively high rank who was the official head of a social group, there can, I think, be no doubt that its application was sometimes extended to a number of his near relations, including those who had no official position, in recognition of their social rank of blood, whilst there would be other less close relatives who would not be regarded as entitled to it. I doubt whether there was, even in any one island, a definite rule as to who might, or who might not, properly be called an *ariki*, or at all events as to the actual use of the term. It must be understood therefore that I am here treating what I call the chiefs separately from the middle classes merely for the purpose of convenience.

SAMOA

Wilkes classifies the chiefs of Samoa as being first, the *tupu*, or chiefs of the highest class; second, the near relatives of the chiefs of the first class and others who had large possessions; and third, the petty chiefs of villages[1]. Hale classifies them in practically the same way[2]. So does Walpole; but he identifies the third class of chiefs with the *tulafale*[3]. Stair says the *ali'i* or chiefs were of various ranks and authority. The regal or highest title of all was *le tupu*, literally "the grown," the *tui-* titles coming next. He thinks the *tui-* title was the most ancient, and for a long time the only title used, and as to this he suggests that at some period of the nation's history, owing to wars and conquests, a number of titles had become merged in the conqueror, who thus acquired the regal title of *le tupu*, as in the case of the *tupu* of all Samoa. The ranks and precedence of other chiefs were indicated in some measure by the styles of address adopted towards them. These were three, and consisted in the different uses of the words *afio*, *susu* and *maliu*. The first two of these terms were properly used only for chiefs of the higher ranks; but the last was a more general term, employed in general use as a polite form of address. He also refers to the term *ali'ipa'ia*, or sacred chiefs, to whom great deference was shown, and examples which he gives of this use include the kings of the three main divisions of Upolu and a few

[1] Wilkes, vol. II, p. 152. [2] Hale, p. 28.
[3] Walpole, vol. II, pp. 351 *sq.*

others of the leading families of Samoa. *Pa'ia* means "sacred," and this term *ali'ipa'ia* was, I think, used as a recognition of the divine character of the higher chiefs, rather than as a distinctive term for a particular rank. He also mentions the term *ao* as being used with the general meaning of title of a chief of rank[1]. Turner says there were sometimes a number of people who, though not elected to the titles of the chieftainships of villages and districts, traced their origin to the same stock, being in fact members of chief families, and they called themselves chiefs. In some cases most of the people of a village ranked as chiefs, and apparently in the courtesy of ordinary conversation the term chief was very often used[2]. Krämer divides the titles of Samoan *ali'i* or chiefs into two classes, namely *papa*, the great or royal titles, and *ao*, the small titles[3]. Schultz says that *afionga* was used for chiefs and *susunga* for chiefs and speakers; they were originally of equal rank, but at a later date the latter term came to be used for certain great orators [these would, I think, be orator chiefs] and the term *afionga* was then used only for the *tupu* or king. I gather from him that really descent decided whether the title *afionga* or *susunga* should be applied to a chief[4]. These are obviously the same terms as Stair's *afio* and *susu*.

The title of the head king of all Samoa (excluding Manu'a) was, as we have seen, *tafa'ifa*, and Stair specially refers to him in connection with the *tupu* class of title. To this extent his suggested explanation of the relatively recent character of the *tupu* title, as compared with the *tui-* titles would be in accord with the history of the origin of the kingship of Samoa. He does not, however, say that the term *tupu* was confined to him, and according to Wilkes it was applied to some other chiefs also. As regards the distinction between the *papa* and *ao* titles, according to Pratt's dictionary, whilst *ao* appears as a title of dignity given to chiefs, *papa* is given as a term only used for high chiefs. I was inclined at first to suspect the *papa* had an English origin, but on referring to Tregear's dictionary I find this word, or similar words, used in various islands of the Pacific with the meaning of father and other, apparently derivative, meanings; so it is probably a true Polynesian term. The *tui-* type of title, in which the prefix *tui-* is added to the name of the district over which a chief reigned, appears from Tongan and Samoan legends to have been very ancient.

[1] Stair, pp. 65–9. [2] Turner, pp. 173 *sq.* Cf. Walpole, vol. II, pp. 351 *sq.*
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 476. [4] Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 48.

Hocart refers to the presence of these titles in the Fijian islands round the Koro Sea, which is, I think, the area in which Polynesian elements are or were very strong; but he gives examples of certain chiefs with titles of this character, in which the titles have ceased to be used in Fiji, though in one or two cases they survive as names of gods, and one or two of them are, he says, found as chief's titles in Tonga, Samoa and Rotuma, the Samoan example being *tui-lau*[1], which he says he has found in Samoa. He also refers to the title *tui-viti*, or king of Fiji, which is said to have existed once in Fiji, though it has died out; but as to which he is quite correct in saying that *tui-viti* [*tui-fiti*] was worshipped in Samoa, and that Samoan legends are full of him and other Fijian chiefs who had come to Samoa[2]. It is to be noticed that titles of this character are not found in the more easterly Polynesian islands. Concerning Wilkes's statement as to the placing of the near relatives of the head chiefs in the class of chiefs second in importance, whilst chiefs of villages were ranked third, I may point out that the ruling head chief or king would be the head for the time being of what I may call the royal family of the group, and if, as would usually be the case, he and the members of his family, congregated in the neighbourhood of the royal residence, were the representatives of the main trunk line of the group, they would, as such, have a priority in rank of blood over the chiefs ruling over minor areas, such as village districts or villages, who would generally be the heads only of branch lines, though the latter, as heads of sub-groups, would often in their official capacity be in one sense superior, especially, say, at *fono*, to a number of members of the royal family who had not attained to official position. Walpole's identification of the chiefs of the third class with the *tulafale* (the orators) is partly right; there seems to have been no very hard and fast line of demarcation between the two classes, the heads of some villages being spoken of as chiefs, and those of others as orators, and, as we shall see, some of the great orators—the *tulafale ali'i*—apparently were in fact chiefs.

TONGA

Mariner, in classifying the people of Tonga, refers first to the sacred *tuitonga*, credited with divine descent, then to Viachi, also descended from the gods, of whose relationship to

[1] The Lau Islands are to the east of the Koro Sea.

[2] Hocart, *J.A.I.* vol. XL, p. 44.

the *tuitonga* Mariner does not seem to have been aware. He heads the list of secular chiefs with the *hau* or king, after whom came the other *eiki* (he spells it *egi*) or chiefs[1]. Young, after referring to the *tuitonga* and *tuikanokubolu*, which latter was, as we have seen, the head of one of the two families who provided the *hau*, says that after them came the chiefs of various grades[2]. West applies the term *hau* to the families of royal blood, and *houeiki* to the chiefs[3], and Baker, in his dictionary, applies the term *houeiki* to chiefs of rank. Possibly the *hou* is the same as *hui* (see below), the *i* being omitted because of the vowels following. I have found no particulars of any classified terminology for the various ranks of the chiefs below that of the *hau*.

SOCIETY ISLANDS

The *Duff* missionaries, speaking of the districts on the northern coast of Tahiti under the rule of the Pomare family, and apparently imagining that this rule extended all over Tahiti, place at their head the reigning king Pomare II, who is followed by his father Pomare I, acting as his regent, and after these they put the district chiefs[4]. Anderson heads the list with the *ari'i de hoi* (spelt by him *eree*), or king, and his family, followed by the *ari'i* (*erees*) or powerful chiefs[5]. Ellis puts at the head of Tahitian society the *hui-ari'i*, the royal family, and nobility[6]. De Bovis heads it with the *ari'i* or princes[7]. There are two other terms to which I must draw attention, namely *ari'i-rahi*, and *ari'i maro ura*. *Rahi* means great, and *ari'i-rahi* is used by writers to designate a specially great chief[8], whilst in Davies's dictionary I find *rai* given as the term for the highest chief or king. This brings me to Anderson's term *ari'i de hoi*, which, as we shall see directly, is also used by Vancouver. Not being able to understand this term, I wrote to Mr Sidney H. Ray about it. He, in his reply, pointed out that Cook, in his vocabulary, gave *earee da'hai* as meaning a king, and suggested that Anderson's *eree de hoi* was a mistake for Cook's *earee da'hai*; he referred to the loss of the letter *d* in modern Tahitian, which would change the term

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 83 *sq.*, 87 *sq.*
[2] Young, *S.W.* pp. 235 *sq.* [3] West, p. 460. [4] Wilson, p. 322.
[5] Cook, vol. VI, p. 157. Cf. vol. IV, p. 280; vol. VI, pp. 140 *note*.
[6] Ellis, vol. III, pp. 94 *sq.* Cf. Tyerman, vol. I, p. 205.
[7] De Bovis, p. 238.
[8] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 89, 93, 109. Cook, vol. VI, p. 140 *note*. T. Salmon, *J.P.S.* vol. XIX, p. 46.

to *earee ahai*, and suggested that Anderson's *eree de hoi* might be the same as *ari'i arahai*, a great chief, *arahai* being a synonym with *rahi*. As regards Ellis's *hui-ari'i*, I may say that, according to Davies's dictionary, *hui* is merely a plural or collective particle referring to a number of people as a body, so Ellis's use of the term would simply be to express the chiefs as a class. I cannot discuss here that very sacred object the *maro-ura* or belt of red feathers worn by certain very high chiefs or kings; but I may say that, according to Vancouver, there were in Tahiti many *ari'i de hoi*, but only one *ari'i maro-ura*[1]. Ari'i Taimai says that some of the *ari'i rahi*, or great head chiefs, had the right to wear the *maro-ura*; that in Tahiti the head chiefs of Vaiari [apparently, as we have seen, the old trunk family of the Teva] and of Punaauia [a very old group, connected with the earliest traditions of the Teva] had this right[2], as also had the head chiefs of Ra'iatea and Borabora[3]; but the head chief of Papara had not this right, even though he had become the official head of all the Teva. I do not know whether any other head chiefs had this right, except the Tu (Pomare) chiefs, with whom it was a relatively recent acquisition[4]. The designation of *ari'i maro-ura* would only be used for those few chiefs who had the right to wear the red belt.

HERVEY ISLANDS

In Mangaia (Hervey Islands) there were, as we have seen, a sacred king and secular king ruling over the whole island, and there were a number of chiefs and sub-chiefs, having authority over their own respective districts. Gill does not tell us the official title of these people; but in Tregear's dictionary *ariki* is given as meaning in Mangaia a king. I cannot say whether the term *ariki* was applied to chiefs other than the king of the whole island; but seeing that its people were divided into a few specific groups, having, or believed to have, separate and distinct origins, who were frequently at war with one another, we may assume that these groups would have their own heads, whom they would possibly call *ariki*.

In Rarotonga the term *ariki* was applied to a king[5]. I hardly think that this means there would only be one *ariki* in the whole island. Originally there was, as we have seen, a dual

[1] Vancouver, vol. I, p. 142.
[2] Ari'i Taimai, p. 7; cf. p. 109; Williams, p. 549.
[3] Ari'i Taimai, p. 85.
[4] Cf. Ari'i Taimai, p. 88.
[5] Williams, p. 214.

division between the people of Karika and those of Tangiia, and, according to tradition, Karika was *ariki* of the former and Tangiia's adopted son was made *ariki* of the latter[1]. At a subsequent date, as we have seen, a third great group, the Tinomana, apparently related to each of the other two, became recognized in Rarotonga, and it is probable that their head chief would also be dignified by the title *ariki*; but we cannot say whether the use of this term spread any lower. There was in Rarotonga a body of men called *mataiapo*. Nicholas says these were minor chiefs, ranking beneath the *ariki*[2]; Moss calls them "nobles"[3]; and Gill refers to a body of minor chiefs under the *ariki*[4]. It will, however, be more convenient to consider them in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes."

MARQUESAS

In the Marquesas, though there were evidently chiefs, with sub-chiefs under them, the only term that I can find as referring to a chief, at all events as a secular ruler, is *aka'iki*[5] or *kaka'iki*[6], or *a'iki*, but more commonly *haka'iki*[7], or *papa haka'iki*[8]. There was, apparently regarded as superior to these chiefs, a body of men deified during life, called *atua*, but I imagine that we should include them rather among the priests.

PAUMOTU

Moerenhout speaks of the head chief of Mangareva, in the Paumotu, as an *ari'i-rahi*[9]; but the *k* was used there, and I do not know whether we must assume that this was a term generally adopted in the island, or whether it may have been the Tahitian term. According to Caillot, the king of the island was styled *akariki*[10]. Tregear, speaking of the Paumotu islands generally, gives *ariki* as meaning a chief or commander, *ariki-tukau* as meaning a king, and *iho-ariki* as indicating royalty[11]. He also gives, in his dictionary, as meaning a king, *aka-riki* in Mangareva, and *ariki* in the Paumotu generally.

[1] Nicholas, *J.P.S.* vol. I, p. 27. Cf. Brown, *J.P.S.* vol. VI, p. 6; Gill, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 202; Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 209.
[2] Nicholas, *J.P.S.* vol. I, pp. 27, 29 *note*.
[3] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 24.
[4] Gill's papers, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 202.
[5] Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 607. Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 226.
[6] D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 326.
[7] Hale, pp. 35 *sq.*
[8] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, p. 541 (cf. the term *papa* as used in Samoa).
[9] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 110.
[10] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 146. *aka* meant "root."
[11] Tregear, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 197.

The French missionaries, speaking of Mangareva, give *tongoiti* as meaning nobles[1], and the same word for the members of the royal family[2]. Cuzent gives for Mangareva *tongoiti* for the chiefs, all of whom were related to the king, and the members of their families[3], and Caillot gives the same term for nobles[4]. The missionaries speak of "the father of the chief" of Akamaru, "or the *tavana* of the island"[5]. It is clear that this reference, whatever its exact meaning may be, points to the use of the term *tavana* for a chief of some sort; I may say, however, that the same term was used for a chief in Tahiti, but Scherzer said it was only a word recently used, being merely a corruption of the English word "governor"[6], and Davies in his dictionary introduces it as "Tavana (English, *governor*) the principal chief of a district"; so I disregarded it.

NIUE

In the island of Niue *patu* meant a commander, also a stalk; *iki* meant lord, master, chief; and *patu-iki* meant a king[7]. So also Smith says that *patu* and *iki* both meant chief, and that there were a good many chiefs called by either one term or the other; and that *patu-iki* meant a king over the whole island[8]. So also, as we might well expect, they used the prefix *tui-* to designate a prince or king[9]. I shall refer again to the terms *patu* and *iki* in considering the middle and lower classes.

ROTUMA

In Rotuma they had, as we have seen, their sacred king or *sou*, and each district has its *ngangaja* or chief, and the president of these chiefs, virtually the temporal head of the island, was the *fakpure*. Hocart found a *tui-* title there represented by the Fijian *tui-lakepa*[10].

UVEA

In Uvea the position seems, as we have seen, to have been very similar to that of Tonga, there having been a king, who may be compared with the *tuitonga*, and a secular head comparable with the *hau* of Tonga, whose official designation

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 346.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. XXXI, p. 374.
[3] Cuzent, *V.I.G.* p. 119.
[4] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 146.
[5] *A.P.F.* vol. IX, p. 14.
[6] Scherzer, vol. III, p. 247 *note*.
[7] H. Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, pp. 22, 67.
[8] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, pp. 171, 178.
[9] H. Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 69. Cf. Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 174.
[10] Hocart, *J.A.I.* vol. XL, p. 44.

was *kivalu*, and who, as I interpret the evidence, might be the head of either one or other of two great families, other than that of the king. Mangeret also refers to village chiefs, who had the right to special honours, but never in the presence of the king, the *kivalu*, and the members of their families[1].

TOKELAU

I have already referred to the statements that the head chief of the island of Fakaofo was the only person who was accorded the title of *ariki*, that the *ariki* was always the oldest male member of certain families, and that there were no clan names or titles outside this circle; also to the presence of the *tui-* title in its application to the *tui-tokelau* or *ariki* for the time being.

ELLICE ISLANDS

We have seen that apparently the use of the term *tupu* to designate a king prevailed, at all events in recent times, in the Ellice island of Funafuti, and that in one, at all events, of the islands of the group the *tui-* title was given to its king. Sollas, in an article, refers to a king as an *erikitubu* and to a number of sub-kings as *erikitabua*[2].

EASTER ISLAND

In Easter Island the head chief of the Miru group was, as we have seen, according to Mrs Routledge, called *ariki*, or sometimes *ariki-mau*—the great chief—to distinguish him from the *ariki-paka*, a term which she thinks was given to all the other members of the group; but she says nothing about the terms applied to chiefs of other groups, as she thinks the Miru were the only people who had a chief. I have explained the reasons for my belief that the head chief of the Miru group was really the sacred chief of the whole island, and have referred to certain supernatural powers attributed to the people of the group generally, which may perhaps have been a reason for a widespread use among them of the term *ariki*, even if we think it improbable that it would be applied to all the members. Whatever the position as regards the other groups may have been in the recent period concerning which Mrs Routledge would be able to secure information, we must believe that at one time, at all events, each group would have its head chief, who would possibly have an *ariki* title of some sort.

[1] Mangeret, vol. I, p. 105. [2] Sollas, *Nature*, Feb. 1897, p. 534.

BUKABUKA

The only term of which I am aware in Bukabuka is that of *ariki*, applied to the head chief of the whole island.

TIKOPIA

According to Durrad's Tikopian vocabulary, *ariki* or *aliki* meant a chief[1] and *ariki tapu* meant a chief or king[2]; d'Urville applies the latter term to what he calls the most important *ariki*, or chiefs of the island[3], and I have suggested that the *ariki tapu* (or *tabu*) was perhaps a sacred king, corresponding to the *tuitonga* of Tonga. Rivers says that the brothers of a chief were called *te paito ariki* (literally "the house chief")[4].

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. XXII, p. 87. [2] *Ibid.* p. 143.
[3] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. V, p. 119.
[4] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 340.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASSES

SAMOA

THE class next in rank after the *ali'i* (omitting the priests), were, according to Stair, the *tulafale*. He says they were a very powerful and influential class, the real authority and control of districts being frequently centred in them. They were the principal advisers of the chiefs; the orators were usually selected from their number; the *ao*, or titles of districts, were always in their gift, and they had the power, which at times they did not scruple to use, of deposing and banishing an obnoxious chief. They were generally large landowners, and in some places they comprised the leading families, and had entire control of the settlement. Sometimes they were brought under the power of the chief of the district or settlement; but as a rule they were a sturdy class, and did not scruple to speak out plainly to those above them when needed, often saying very unpalatable things, and acting in a determined manner, should the conduct of a chief be obnoxious to them[1]. Each chief generally had a *tulafale*, who acted as his mouthpiece; and each settlement had its *tulafale sili*, who was the leading orator of the district[2]. Brown's account of them is very similar, but I will refer to a few further comments by him. He says of these *tulafale*, whom he identifies as the orators, that he would be a very bold chief who dared to act in direct opposition to the advice of the *tulafale* [plural] of his town or district. The chief rarely spoke to express the wishes or decisions of the people, as it was considered more dignified on his part to remain comparatively silent, and it was regarded as the special privilege of the *tulafale* to announce in public the decisions which had been arrived at[3]. Walpole speaks of the *tulafale* as the chiefs of villages[4]. He says that each chief of a district had an orator, who was above all orators; each village also had an orator who acted as magistrate and adjudicated, though an

[1] Stair, p. 70.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 84 *sq.*
[3] Brown, pp. 432 *sq.*
[4] Walpole, vol. II, p. 352.

appeal might be made to the *fono*; and each family generally had its orator, who arranged its disputes and pleaded its cause[1]. Stuebel refers to the *tulafale sili*[2], who, as we have seen, was, according to Stair, the leading orator of a district; but, according to Pratt's dictionary, *sili* means "principal," "best," "highest," so the addition of *sili* may be merely descriptive.

I have found no explanation of the etymological meaning of the word *tulafale*, and speculation by the aid of dictionaries is dangerous. Nevertheless I will venture to suggest possibilities. The *fale* is simple enough, as the word means a house, and is in Samoa often used as part of a word to signify a specific group of people. Two possible explanations of the *tula* present themselves. This word, according to Pratt's dictionary, means "bald," and "a bald-headed person"; then in Hawai'i we get *faka-tura*, meaning ' nerable," "to respect," *faka* (Samoan *fa'a*) being a causative prefix and *tura* being the same word as the Samoan *tula*. On this basis the *tulafale* might be a body of venerable persons treated, as such, with respect; not necessarily all old men, but regarded as old in wisdom as orators and councillors. The other suggestion is based on the word *ture*, which in several parts of Polynesia means "law." I do not find the corresponding *tule* in Pratt's dictionary, but his Samoan term for "law" is *tulafono*, which would mean the law of the *fono* or council. If this is the derivative, the *tulafale* might be a body of persons who governed.

Krämer refers from time to time both to *tulafale*, or orators, and to *tulafale ali'i*, or orator chiefs; so I must say something about the latter. He says they were co-ordinate with the chiefs, and often surpassed them in power[3]; but he gives more than one explanation of their origin. In one place he ascribes this origin to the marriage of a chief with the daughter of a *tulafale*, and the passing to the son of the titles of both his parents, and says that some of them were of noble origin, to which fact he ascribes the occurrence of marriages between chiefs and daughters of *tulafale ali'i*[4]. Then, again, he says the *tulafale ali'i* could take chiefs' names[5]. He also tells us that they are to be regarded as chiefs who had the right to take the *tulafale* name, in order to be able to speak at the *fono*, and to receive a state mat on the division of mats of title chiefs[6]. I gather from

[1] *Ibid.* p. 355. [2] Stuebel, p. 110. [3] Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 10.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 482, 10. [5] *Ibid* p. 482.
[6] *Ibid.* Cf. Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 47.

Krämer that there were only certain chiefs who did this, and that they were designated *toetaufanua*, and he gives the name of a Tuamasangan chief Seumanutafa as an example of one of these[1].

This last custom is explained in some detail by Stuebel. He says that a *tulafale ali'i* was a chief. When the chief wanted to receive fine mats from the fine mats of the king at a king's installation he assumed the name of a *tulafale*, or at least was called a *tulafale ali'i*; but if he did not wish to receive these mats he gave up the designation of *tulafale ali'i* and became again nothing else but a chief. Similarly, if he wished to come forward as an orator in government and district matters, he was called a *tulafale ali'i*; but when he no longer desired to do this he gave up the orator dignity and became a chief again. Stuebel gives as an example the case of Seumanu, a chief of the Vaimaunga district of Tuamasanga [evidently the person spoken of by Krämer], who was called *o le afionga a Seumanu*, because he was a chief; but when it was a question of the mats of the Malietoa dignity, he arranged, in order to receive mats of the mats of this dignity, to be called *tulafale ali'i*, and as such, *toetaufanua*, for the Malietoa dignity. If then he did not wish to receive the mats, he was called neither *tulafale ali'i* nor *toetaufanua*, but again became simply Seumanu, the chief of Vaimaunga. The method which he would adopt in assuming a *tulafale* name would be to select a high *tulafale* name over which he had authority, and to intimate this to the king and the *uso-ali'i*, and the name he would adopt would be either Lealasola or Letea[2]. A young man who wished to be received among the *faipule* [councillors] of the village, had to know what assembly name of his family he was to bear—whether a chief's name or a *tulafale* name; if he wanted to speak and receive mats he chose an orator name, and chief's sons, having done this, would sometimes not only speak, but would distribute food[3].

My understanding of all this is as follows. There were certain chiefs who could speak and act as orators, and *toetaufanua* was a general term by which they were designated. These chiefs had their own names as chiefs, but they also had what I may call their orator names. The orator name adopted by a chief would be that of one of his own orators—probably the most important. A chief would, when acting as such, be termed an *ali'i*; when acting as an orator he would be termed a *tulafale ali'i*. He could change backwards and forwards from one to

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 231. [2] Stuebel, p. 96. [3] *Ibid.* p. 90.

the other to suit his own convenience, the object of becoming an orator being either to enable him to speak at *fono*, or the right to receive mats on certain occasions, or probably often both. It would, I gather, be beneath the dignity of a chief, *as such*, to receive these mats, which were an orator's perquisite. This changing backwards and forwards is probably what Krämer refers to when he says in one place that a *tulafale ali'i* could take a chief's name, and in another, that a chief could take a *tulafale* name, and we have seen in the example of Seumanu that "name" means, not merely the distinctive term of *ali'i* or *tulafale*, but the chief's own name as a chief, or the actual name of a *tulafale*. Similarly, a young man of a chief family, but not himself a chief in the strict sense of the word, could apparently, if he liked, become a *tulafale*, adopting a *tulafale* name and thus acquire the rights and privileges of the office, but I can hardly think he would be allowed to speak at a *fono*, unless he were qualified to do so as head of a family. We are not told whether the practice of becoming a *tulafale ali'i* was adopted specially by any one class of chiefs, but it may, I think, be assumed that great chiefs with great titles would not do it. A study of Krämer indicates that there were a number of *tulafale ali'i*, who were not merely temporary holders of this position, it having been held by their families for generations back, and indeed this is involved by Krämer's first suggestion as to the origin of the *tulafale ali'i* as a class, and his explanations may well be correct.

It seems clear that the *tulafale*, including, no doubt, the *tulafale ali'i*, had to be heads of families. Pritchard speaks of the *tulafale*, or heads of families, who, as such, were the chiefs' counsellors[1]. Hale, in speaking of the same matter, refers to the *tulafale* as the householders[2]. Hübner says the heads of families alone exercised political rights, and divides these people into the *ali'i* or chiefs and *tulafale* or commoners[3]. Krämer refers to the administrative duties of the heads of families, chiefs and orators[4]. Pratt speaks of the chiefs and heads of families who composed the council[5]. Von Bülow says the assembly of a place or *fono* was composed of heads of families, chiefs (*ali'i*) and orators (*tulafale*)[6]. Statements by other writers refer to or

[1] Pritchard, p. 135. [2] Hale, p. 28.
[3] Hübner, vol. II, p. 359.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 89.
[5] Pratt, p. 117.
[6] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 375.

suggest the same thing[1]. This term, "heads of families," must be read both in the narrower domestic sense, and as referring to consanguine families.

The class next in rank and importance after the *tulafale*, were the *fale-upolu* (house of Upolu). They were, according to Stair, also considerable landowners, and possessed much influence. They supplied the chiefs with food, for which the latter paid them; and members of this class sometimes took part in the discussions of the public assemblies, and in a variety of ways made their influence felt[2]. Brown says they included the heads of families and those holding an acknowledged position in the different branches of their families; that they also often took part in the discussions in public assemblies; and that the *tulafale* were nominally the next [above the *fale-upolu*] in position and influence, being a very powerful and influential class, by whom the real control of a district was often exercised[3]. Pratt, in his dictionary, defines them as being "the body of citizens," "the people." The word *fale* (house) was, as I have stated above, sometimes used in Samoa to speak of a connected group of people, so that the term *fale-upolu* might well mean simply the people of Upolu, being used to designate the general body of the population other, perhaps, than the *ali'i* and *tulafale*, who constituted the governing official classes. Why the term should refer to Upolu only, and not be one which would include the other Samoan islands also, is not clear, and there is no suggestion that its use was confined to Upolu. I may point out, however, that the government of all the islands, except Manu'a, was centred at Leulumoenga in the Aana division of Upolu; though Manu'a had for long been separate and distinct politically from the other islands. It seems improbable that the term would be used in Manu'a. I may also say that in Upolu the term *fale-upolu* was used to designate, not only the class of society whom we are now considering, but also the orators who took part in the *fono* or councils[4], and I shall refer to this double meaning of the term in a later chapter, but in Manu'a it was not the term used with the latter meaning[5], so probably it was not used there to designate this lower middle class of people either.

The lower classes of Samoa were called *tangata nu'u*, or men

[1] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 632; Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 45; Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIV, p. 25; Graeffe, *J.M.G.* vol. I, p. 23.
[2] Stair, p. 74. Cf. p. 84.
[3] Brown, p. 432.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 11.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 367.

of the land. They were engaged in cultivating the soil, fishing, etc., in time of peace, and bore arms in time of war. They often attached themselves to chiefs, and the number of them whom any one chief had in his service varied according to his power and influence[1].

The term *tangata taua* was applied to captives taken in war, and Stair says that, though he does not think that slavery can be said to have existed at any time in Samoa, the conditions of the *tangata taua* were little, if anything, better than slavery. They were looked upon with great contempt by their masters, and a chief would often think much less of taking the life of one of this class than that of a favourite pigeon[2]. I have found nothing to show what classes of society among a conquered group would be liable to be placed in this position by their conquerors; but I think it would only be low class people. We may assume that the caste pride of the chiefs would prevent them from so humiliating one of their own class, and I have found no record of their ever having done so. They could not deprive him of his title. Brown says a mild kind of slavery used to prevail, but only in the families of a few chiefs; he thinks most of the slaves had been the children of women taken captive in war time[3], and I suspect that these would be mainly women of the poor class.

I have confined myself up to this point to the various specific ranks or grades of society, but there are some other matters affecting the social life of the people to which I must draw attention. Stair, speaking of domestic work, says that in Samoa the different members of a family attended to the domestic duties among themselves[4]; there seem also to have been other female attendants, but Stair says they were related by either blood or marriage to the families in which they resided[5]. Kubary says there were no servants or paid workers, and the work connected with the house was distributed among all the members of the family. The younger members occupied themselves with the secondary parts of the cooking and preparation of the food; so also one would see to the firewood and the stone oven, whilst another went fishing or hunting[6]. According to Krämer, children were like servants to their parents, though it was dishonourable for a chief to serve a stranger[7]; other

[1] Stair, pp. 74 *sq.* Cf. Brown, p. 432. [2] Stair, p. 75.
[3] Brown, p. 347. [4] Stair, p. 122. [5] *Ibid.* p. 124.
[6] Kubary, *Globus*, vol. XLVII, p. 72. [7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 31.

servants were generally relations. Only the *tulafale* served the chiefs, in expectation of costly mats, etc. It was held to be dishonourable and slavish to serve a person not related[1]. Stuebel refers to a case of an adopted son of a chief who served him so zealously that he was chosen as the chief's successor[2].

In the houses of the chiefs of rank, however, other attendants were kept in addition to the family connections[3], this last term being, I think, used here in the narrow domestic sense, or nearly so. I think Krämer is referring to these attendants when he says that, owing to the sanctity of the great title chiefs, which made everything with which they came in contact taboo, they had their own special body servants, who alone might eat of the dishes from which they themselves ate, and of that which they left[4]. Von Bülow says that those attendants were called *angai*, that they had certain names, and that their offices were hereditary in certain families[5]. Stair's statement, quoted above, that chiefs of rank had other attendants, in addition to their family connections, is followed by a list of these, *songa*, *atamai-o-ali'i*, *fa'atama*, and *salelelisi*, from which it would appear that they were terms designating specific forms of service[6]; but apparently some confusion of idea arises here, as one or two of the terms seem to have been the names of specific families who attended upon certain chiefs.

Songa is, according to Pratt's dictionary, a general term for a shaver, a servant or attendant peculiar to certain chiefs, and it is used, apparently in this sense, by Stuebel[7], though he refers to it elsewhere as the name of one of the chiefs[8]. Stair says the *songa* performed the duties of barber, cup bearer, trumpeter, and special messenger; the office was a very privileged one, since the *songa* might indulge with impunity in any jocose behaviour he chose, or appear in any dress, whether much or little, much after the manner of the old English jester or court fool[9].

The *atamai-o-ali'i* (spirit of wisdom of the chief) occupied the position of councillor or prime minister, and was continually consulted when the chief required advice. Occasionally this official filled the office of shell-blower or trumpeter, walking like the *songa*, before the chief when on a journey, and carrying

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 481.
[2] Stuebel, p. 121. Cf. Brown, *A.A.A.S.* vol. XIV, p. 432.
[3] Stair, p. 122.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 10.
[5] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 63.
[6] Stair, p. 122.
[7] Stuebel, pp. 95, 98.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 91.
[9] Stair, p. 123.

a conch shell which he blew continually to announce their approach[1]. I shall have to refer again to this official presently; but in the meantime I say that in Pratt's dictionary the word *atamai* is given as meaning "clever," "intelligent," "sensible," which is in accord with the duties attributed to this official by Stair. In dealing with public affairs the kings and other chiefs had the advice or help of their *tulafale ali'i* or *tulafale*; but perhaps the official now being considered was rather a personal or domestic adviser, though I imagine he might be a member of one or other of these two ranks of orators.

The *fa'atama* (to be as a father) was a trustworthy official, a kind of steward, much thought of, and to whose care many things relating to the household were confided[2].

The *salelelisi* (the quick flyer) appears to have sustained more especially the office of jester or court fool, and a high chief's retinue was not considered complete without one of this class, who enjoyed even greater licence as to behaviour than the *songa*. Persons of this class belonged to one particular village of Upolu, but individuals of their number roamed about, attaching themselves to various chiefs as their inclination led them[3]. If we may accept the name Salelesi as being the same as the term *salelelisi*, which, I think, we may almost assume that it was, we get a little history or tradition touching this matter. According to Krämer, the *tuiatua's* body-servant was Salelesi, so called after the Tongan Lesi, who tended Tuimavave, the son of *tuiatua* Mata'utia[4]. This episode concerning Lesi is referred to elsewhere by Krämer, who says the child had been born a lump of blood[5], and by Pratt, who treats Salelesi as having been a descendant of Lesi[6]; and I may point out that the reign of the *tuiatua* Mata'utia was long ago, just about the time of the events which led to the creation of the title of *tafa'ifa* of all Samoa. Salelesi is also the name of a village of the village district of Saluafata, close to Lufilufi, the seat of government of the Atua division of Upolu. It was one of the villages called the "servants of *tuiatua*," and when he had an assembly it fell to this village [that is, its representative] to make the kava, and this representative, according to the account, was allowed to conduct himself in an extraordinary way in doing so, he also performed all sorts of services for the king, ate the portion not

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.* p. 124.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 123. Cf. Hood, pp. 102 *sq.*; Churchward, pp. 99, 324.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 270. [5] *Ibid.* p. 295.
[6] Pratt, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, p. 660.

eaten by him of the food set before him, and had a privilege, when food was brought in, of selecting and taking away a large pig and quantities of taro[1]. So also Krämer says that Salelesi, who, though really the servant of the *tuiatua*, had also served one of the *tuiaana*, was present at the granting of the *tuiaana* title in the year 1898, and at this solemn ceremony drank his kava lying on the ground, and after he had done so, sang aloud for a long time, the privilege of doing these things belonging to him as a jester[2]. Stuebel refers to Salelesi as being a chief[3]. It is evident that the representative for the time being of the Salelesi family was a personal attendant of the *tuiatua*, and among his other duties played the buffoon, and we get a sketch of the privileges and liberties that were accorded to him; but another interesting feature of the matter is that, if the association between this family and the *tuiatua* may, as it seems reasonable to suspect, have had its origin, or supposed origin, in the attention paid by its ancestor long ago to the poor child of a *tuiatua*, we get an example of the way in which some of these inherited personal offices may actually have originated.

Another example of an ancestral privilege arising, according to tradition, in the way I have suggested, though in this case the privileged person was an orator chief, is perhaps provided by the case of the Leota family of Atua, whose official representative was called by the family name. The tradition concerning Leota's ancestor of the same name said that the *tuiatua* Fotuitamai, whose period, I may say, was still earlier than that of the *tuiatua* Mata'utia, having been defeated and bound by Tuamasanga, and left lying down in the sun, was succoured by one Leota, who laid dry banana leaves under him and on his head, and thus saved his life. For this service the *tuiatua* bestowed upon Leota the first king's mat of *tuiatua*, and the right to give the *ususu* cry on the conferring of the title[4]. The holder of the Leota name was therefore a privileged person, demanding special consideration at the Lufilufi *fono*. After the other people had all assembled, Leota had to be sent for, and a messenger was despatched for the purpose; he took no notice of the summons, so the messenger went a second time, with the same result; and it was only after this performance had been repeated ten times that he condescended to put in an appear-

[1] Stuebel, p. 95.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 167.
[3] Stuebel, p. 91.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 271 *note* 1.

ance, and the proceedings could commence. Then again, after the conclusion of the more important speeches, a coconut had to be carried right round the *marae*, and finally brought to Leota, who drank its milk, and then broke it, and ate the kernel; after which the rest of the speeches were made[1].

There are other examples of cases of ancestral personal service (the case of Leota does not appear quite to come within this description), the origins of which are the subjects of traditions. Fonoti was a *tuiaana*—the fourth after Salamasina, the first *tafa'ifa*[2]. In Krämer's time Atamaioali'i (whose name is that of one of the offices mentioned by Stair) was the servant of the *tuiaana*, and was evidently able to eat his food, though, as Krämer says, it was taboo to all others; and it was said of this man that he was a descendant of Fonoti, and that the first Atamaioali'i had served Fonoti so well and skilfully that Fonoti commended him for it and said "Thou canst eat my things, because thou hast served me well"[3]; by which, I imagine, he made the man his *songa*, and the office had since remained in the family. The Taumasina family were, according to Stuebel, the *songa* (servants) of the Malietoa; they had to see that the fire did not go out between evening and morning, and performed all sorts of services for their chief, of which one was the assassination of any other powerful chief who might be a dangerous rival of the Malietoa[4]. Though he speaks as though the duty rested on the family, it would, I imagine, be one only of their number who performed it. Krämer says it was the duty of this person to keep the fire burning at night, for fear of murder[5]. According to the "*tala i le Taumasina a Malietoa*" (the story of the Taumasina of Malietoa), a Malietoa of past days, whose name I do not know, in the course of a sea journey, arrived at Tutuila, where he saw a fire by the house of a famous orator chief, where, says the tale, it was constantly burning; whereupon the Malietoa asked the chief for the man who sat up for him through the night, and this man was given to him. Krämer, in a note on this story, refers to the fact that the Taumasina was the body-servant of Malietoa, just as Salelesi was of the *tuiatua*[6]. Stuebel refers to Taumasina as being a chief[7]. Turner,

[1] *Ibid.* p. 271.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 171.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 203 *note.*
[4] Stuebel, pp. 98 *sq.*
[5] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 263. Cf. Pratt's dictionary, p. 192; Stair, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 53.
[6] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 263 *sq.* and *notes* 15 and 17, p. 263.
[7] Stuebel, p. 91.

speaking of the subject generally, says it was one of the distinguishing marks of chieftainship of a member of the Samoan nobility to have his fire kept blazing all night long by his attendants[1].

These ancestral personal attendants on the great chiefs may sometimes have been descendants of persons closely related to the ancestors of the chiefs, and who had served those ancestors, the service continuing through subsequent generations. It has, as we have seen, been suggested that Atamaioali'i was a descendant of the *tuiaana* Fonoti. So also there was a tradition of an agreement between an ancestor of one of the Tuamasanga families and his sister that one of her family should always serve him, and the personal association so arranged apparently continued to recent days[2]. In the traditions of the ancient history of Manu'a we find a *tuimanu'a* decreeing that his son, the next *tuimanu'a*, should be attended by his son by another wife—the half-brother of the successor—and should have the drink and food which the king (the successor) might leave after feasting; and again we find a case of a question as to which of two brothers was to be king being settled by an arrangement that the elder of them was to be king and the younger his attendant[3]. So also we are told of a petty chief who was attended by a retinue of four or five brothers and cousins[4], and of a Manu'an chief to whom his four younger brothers were to bring firstfruits[5]. I may say as regards these brother and brother associations that there appears to have been a custom—I do not know how widely it was spread—for a man to be served by his younger brother; it is referred to by Stuebel[6] and, according to Pratt's dictionary, the word *papale* meant "to lend assistance (as a younger brother to an elder one, or children to their father)."

We have seen that Salelesi was said to have been a chief, Leota a *tulafale ali'i*, and Taumasina a chief. Krämer refers to a jester, compared by him to Salelesi of the *tuiatua*, who (this jester) was a *tulafale*[7], and to a jester of Savai'i who was a *tulafale ali'i*[8]; so it is clear that these men, buffoons though they were, filled an office held not to be unworthy of people of some social importance.

[1] Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 326.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 249.
[3] Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXVI, p. 297.
[4] St Johnston, p. 178.
[5] Pratt-Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, pp. 202 *sq.*
[6] Stuebel, pp. 130 *sq.*
[7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 289.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 57.

Krämer refers to the term *usoali'i* as meaning "brother chief," and says that the *usoali'i* were chiefs below a great chief, who stood at his side like brothers in council, and helped him in the exercise of his office. They generally sprang from the same family[1], and their office was connected with their name. On the death of a great chief, when there were no direct descendants they might rise to the higher rank, and the *usoali'i* name was granted afresh[2]. Stuebel refers to the same matter, and, I think, explains more exactly the last preceding statement. He says there were certain *usoali'i*—four or five—of a chief—they themselves being children of chiefs—who in a certain measure formed his senate. They ruled together with the chief, and decided his affairs and those of his children. Their relationship to him was also connected with his name. If the chief lost his name, he cut himself off from his *usoali'i*, and they considered the question of finding a successor, and if he left no children, one of their own number might succeed[3]. I have, in considering the question of social grouping, referred to the part taken by the *usoali'i* in considering questions of succession to the chieftainship[4], though the actual decision seems to have rested with the *tulafale ali'i* or *tulafale*. These groups of *usoali'i* were evidently recognized as such, as they appear often to have been specially mentioned in the formal greetings at the *fono*[5].

Tufunga was a term applied, according to Pratt's dictionary, to a carpenter, and a tattooer; but it seems to have had the wider meaning of an artisan, skilled in the making of certain articles or the doing of certain things. Stair gives a list of thirty-one different occupations of this character, the name of each of which begins with *o le tufunga*[6], and we shall find that in parts of Polynesia a corresponding term was used for a priest —that is, I imagine, a person skilled in the art of prayer. Krämer, in referring to Stair's list, says that carpentry and tattooing were, in the main, specially esteemed[7], which is possibly the reason why they are the only two occupations mentioned in Pratt's dictionary. Some of the occupations were common to all places and parties, but others were confined to certain localities, and practised by fraternities, who guarded

[1] See explanation of the term *uso* in the chapter on special relationship terms.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 477.
[3] Stuebel, pp. 89 *sq.*
[4] Cf. Stuebel, p. 110.
[5] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 55, 162, 232, 275, 289, 316, 321, 368, 371–4, and perhaps elsewhere.
[6] Stair, p. 142.
[7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 90.

zealously their privileges from any infringement[1]. Brown says that none of these occupations was strictly hereditary, though certain families, the members of which had practised the several trades for many generations, acquired a special prestige; but any man could attach himself to some craftsman of any occupation, and when he had acquired sufficient knowledge he could commence business on his own account[2]. Each principal trade or employment, according to Stair, and each trade, according to Brown, had its presiding god[3]. As to this, I may point out that the tutelar deity of a family specially skilled in any occupation might well be regarded as the presiding god of that particular industry, their skill being attributed to the power he gave them, and this may have been the origin of the belief in departmental gods of this character. The descriptions given of the process of building a house or a canoe are interesting, on account of the formalities by which these operations were accompanied, the great attention which had to be paid to the workers, and the trade union systems which are disclosed. Accounts are given by Stair of canoe-building[4], and by Stair, Turner and Brown of house-building[5]. Stair, in commenting on this, points out how completely the employers were at the mercy of the workpeople, with their all-powerful organizations. The payments for the work were made from time to time as it proceeded, and if at any time a payment was regarded as insufficient, the men at once left their work in its unfinished condition, taking their tools and belongings with them, and commencing work elsewhere, and the employer had no remedy, for no other builders dare undertake the work thus left, as they would thereby have the whole fraternity of the trade against them, their tools would be taken from them, they would be expelled from their "clan," and prohibited from exercising their calling during the pleasure of the fraternity[6].

Stair says that the *tulafale* and *fale-upolu*, and even some of the chiefs, were accustomed to engage in the different handicrafts common to the people[7], and Brown tells us that there was no degradation attached to work, and the most skilful man,

[1] Stair, p. 141. Cf. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 90; Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 636.
[2] Brown, p. 305. [3] Stair, p. 142. Brown, p. 306.
[4] Stair, pp. 147–51.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 153–7. Turner, pp. 158 *sq.* Brown, pp. 306 *sqq.*
[6] Stair, pp. 151, 157. Cf. Turner, p. 159; Brown, p. 307.
[7] Stair, p. 74.

whatever his position might be, was always the one most sought after for special work[1].

All objects made by men, and the tools used in making them, were called *oloa*, and those made by women were called *tonga*[2]. It is necessary to draw attention to this, as writers occasionally use these words as descriptive terms in speaking of payments made, and mutual exchanges entered into, in connection with weddings and some other ceremonies and events. Krämer gives particulars of the objects included under each of these terms, and without following him in detail I will indicate broadly what main classes of things each term included. *Oloa* included houses, house utensils, boats and boat utensils, weapons, tools, nets used for fishing and pigeon catching, certain ornaments, and all foreign articles obtained from other islands, including in more recent times white men's productions. *Tonga* included mats of different sorts, bark cloth, fans, combs, baskets, etc.[3]

TONGA

Mariner places the middle and lower classes of Tonga in the following order, first the *matabule*, second the *mua*, third the *tua*[4]. Young places them in the same order, and adds at the end the *tamaioeiki* or slaves[5]. Père A. C. puts them in the same order[6]; but elsewhere he says that the *matabule* were inferior to the *mua*[7]. D'Entrecasteaux puts, next after what he calls the chiefs, first the *mua*, and then the *tua*, and does not mention the *matabule*; he says the distinction between the *mua* and the *tua* was not clear to him, and that he thought there was no marked difference between them[8]. Père Piéplu places the *matabule*, whom he calls chiefs of the second class, after the *houeiki*, or great chiefs[9]. Baker in his dictionary defines a *matabule* as a petty chief. West places the *mua* before the *matabule*[10]. So does Sarah Farmer, and she places the *bobula* or slaves at the bottom of the list[11]. Gerland (quoting Meinicke) places the *matabule* next after the chiefs, whose collateral relations he says they were[12].

Excluding Père A. C.'s statements, we have the priority given

[1] Brown, p. 306.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 90.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 90 *sq.*
[4] Mariner, vol. II, p. 87.
[5] Young, *S.W.* p. 236.
[6] Père A. C., p. x.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 200.
[8] D'Entrecasteaux, vol. I, p. 309.
[9] *A.P.F.* vol. XXVII, p. 394.
[10] West, p. 460.
[11] S. Farmer, pp. 139 *sq.*
[12] Gerland, vol. VI, pp. 172 *sq.*

to the *matabule* by Mariner, Young and Gerland, and to the *mua* by West and Sarah Farmer. I think d'Entrecasteaux's comment on the *mua* and *tua* supports the priority of the *matabule*, whom he may have regarded as chiefs. Père Piéplu and Baker also support this priority, as they regard the *matabule* as having been chiefs. The balance of opinion is in favour of the priority of the *matabule*, and as I myself am convinced by our general knowledge of the *matabule* that they were the higher of the two classes, I shall assume that they were so.

The *matabule* were, according to Mariner, a sort of honourable attendants on chiefs, and were their companions and counsellors. They saw that the orders and wishes of their chiefs were duly executed, and might not improperly be called their ministers. They had the management of all ceremonies. Their rank was from inheritance; and they were supposed to have been originally distant relations of the nobles, or to have descended from persons eminent for experience and wisdom, and whose acquaintance and friendship on that account became valuable to the king and other great chiefs. As no son of a *matabule* could assume that rank and title till his father died, most of them were beyond the middle age of life. It was their duty to be acquainted with all rites and ceremonies, and with the manners, customs and affairs of Tonga, and with the traditionary records, which latter they handed down to their sons. They were always looked up to as men of experience and superior information[1]. It was their business to attend to the good order of society, to look to the morals of the younger chiefs, admonishing them if they ran into excesses and oppressed the lower classes, and if necessary reporting them to the older chiefs[2]. They had their own plantations[3]. Young describes the *matabule* as the gentlemen, the associates and companions or satellites of the chiefs[4]. Père A. C. calls them the ministers and officers of the king and chiefs, whose council they composed[5]. West calls them the official attendants and companions of the higher classes[6]. We shall see that they, or some of them, also acted as priests in performing certain religious functions. Sarah Farmer says the term *matabule* was made up of two words

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 89 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 91. Cf. Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 86.
[3] Mariner, vol. II, p. 209.
[4] Young, *S.W.* p. 236.
[5] Père A. C., p. x.
[6] West, p. 460.

meaning "face" and "govern"[1]. It is true that *mata* means "face"; but I think the more likely derivative word is *matua*, an elder or parent, and this is apparently the view taken by Rivers[2]. *Bule* means "to govern," or "a governor."

The *mua* had, according to Mariner, much to do in assisting at public ceremonies, such as sharing out food and kava under the direction of the *matabule*. Except on very grand occasions, they sometimes carried out the arrangement and direction of ceremonies instead of the *matabule*. They also shared with the *matabule* the duty of attending to the good order of society and the conduct of the younger chiefs, and, like them, were very much respected by all classes[3]. Also, like the *matabule*, they had their own plantations[4]. Young says they formed a connecting link between the lower and the higher classes[5]. Père A. C. says they had certain functions in public ceremonies, and saw that good order was kept[6]. West refers to them as constituting the gentry[7].

The *tua* were, according to Mariner, the lowest order of all, the bulk of the people. They were peasants[8]. Young defines them as being the common people not taken in war[9]. Père A. C. says they were the people, the masses, were very little considered, and had to do the roughest work[10]. West defines them as being the common people[11]. According to Baker's dictionary, *mua* means "before," "in front of," and *tua* means "the back"; perhaps this is the meaning of the two terms as applied to these classes of society[12].

Mariner says nothing about a slave class; but Young applies his term *tamaioeiki* to slaves who had forfeited their liberty by crime, or had been taken captive in war[13]. Sarah Farmer says the *bobula* or slaves were people who had been taken in war, or presented by one chief to another, this being a frequent method of punishing an offender[14]; both Père A. C. and Baker define the term as meaning, or only perhaps including, prisoners of war[15].

As regards the inter-relationship of these Tongan classes (excluding the slaves) Gerland refers to Meinicke (*Südsee-*

[1] S. Farmer, p. 139.
[2] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, p. 235.
[3] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 90 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 209.
[5] Young, *S.W.* p. 236.
[6] Père A. C., p. x.
[7] West, p. 460.
[8] Mariner, vol. II, p. 91.
[9] Young, *S.W.* p. 236.
[10] Père A. C., p. x.
[11] West, p. 460.
[12] Cf. Hale, p. 31.
[13] Young, *S.W.* p. 236.
[14] S. Farmer, p. 140.
[15] Père A. C., p. 233; Baker, p. 36.

volker, p. 82) as having pointed out that the family was the basis of society. The *matabule* were the collateral relations of the chief, the *mua* of the *matabule*, the *tua* of the *mua*; and this patriarchal relationship also manifested itself in the constitution of the Tongan state[1]. Mariner says nothing about any relationship of the *matabule* to the *eiki* or chiefs, other than the distant relationship to which I have referred; but he says that the *mua* were either sons or brothers of the *matabule*, or descendants of such, and so might by succession become *matabule*, and that the *tua* were similarly related to, and might become *mua*[2]. I think this inter-relationship must have existed between the *eiki* and the *matabule*, just as it did between the *matabule* and the *mua*, more especially in view of the general similarity between the *matabule* and the *tulafale* of Samoa. Perhaps we may see the relationship reflected in the suggestions by one or two writers that the *matabule* were chiefs, though this would presumably, even if there was no clear line of demarcation between the two classes, apply only to some of the higher *matabule*.

Mariner gives a sketch of the personal association in daily life between the upper and middle classes. He says the higher chiefs seldom associated freely together, unless at the morning kava parties, and that those meetings must be considered, in a great measure, as visits of custom and form. The *matabule* and *mua* freely associated with the chiefs to whom they belonged. They were their necessary attendants at kava parties, etc., and formed the bulk of their fighting men and followers. They not only associated freely with one another, but also with the followers of other high chiefs, and even with those high chiefs themselves, without any reserve, excepting the requisite ceremonies of respect which occasion might require. Every high or governing chief had his *kau-nofo* (those who settled or dwelt with him), or, as they were sometimes called, *kau-mea* (adherents) who consisted of inferior chiefs and *matabule*. Each of these inferior chiefs had his *kau-tangata* or body of fighting men, consisting chiefly of *mua*. The *matabule* had no *kau-tangata*. The retinue or *kau-nofo* of a great chief therefore consisted of inferior chiefs (with their *kau-tangata*) and *matabule*; and the retinue or *kau-tangata* of an inferior chief consisted of *mua* and perhaps also a few *tua*, who had been found brave fellows.

[1] Gerland, vol. VI, p. 173.
[2] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 90 *sq.* Cf. Hale, p. 31 *sq.*

A great number of these *kau-nofo*, perhaps about eighty or ninety, actually dwelt in and near the superior chief's fencing (each fencing having many houses), whilst there were many others who slept and passed a great portion of their time at their own plantations. The *matabule*, however, excepting perhaps two or three inspectors of the chief's plantations, dwelt always in or near his fencing, as their presence was so often required by him for the regulation of different matters. With respect to the inferior chiefs, they generally lived at their plantations; but the greater part, or at least about half of the *mua*, dwelt in the neighbourhood of the great chief to whom they belonged[1].

Referring to Mariner's terms *kau-nofo* and *kau-mea*, I see that, according to Baker's dictionary, the word *kau* is a sign of the plural, applied generally to rational beings; that, according to both this and Père A. C.'s dictionaries, *nofo* means "to dwell," "to abide"; and that *mea* is, according to Baker, a verb, meaning "to do," "to attend to," and is, according to both dictionaries, a noun meaning "things," "affairs." We therefore, apparently, get the idea of these attendants of a chief being a body of people, regarded in the double light of living with him, and attending to his affairs. *Tangata* simply means "a man."

In Tonga, as in Samoa, internal domestic service seems to have been performed, in part at all events, by members of the family, a man's children being made to serve as attendants[2]. So also, just as in Samoa a king was served by *tulafale*, in Tonga he was served by *matabule*, and so on downwards to lower orders. Bays says that if the king dined out, his dinner was brought to him by *matabule* or gentlemen, who were seen bearing baskets of yams and pigs already cooked, carried on poles, this being not servile service, but a mark of respect; the chiefs also would lend a hand to scour the king's canoe, or assist occasionally in any particular work he had in hand. The same respect also was paid to the *matabule* by the lower orders; thus the poor supported the chiefs and the chiefs supplied the king's table[3]. Thomson says that each chief had hereditary retainers, who followed him to battle and obeyed him in time of peace[4]. In Baker's dictionary I find the terms *feao*, "a guard," "an attendant"; *fakafeao*, "a guard," "a companion,"

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 208 *sq.*
[2] Bays, p. 135.
[3] *Ibid.* 134.
[4] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 222.

"an aide-de-camp of the king." This last term is given in Père A. C.'s dictionary as meaning a "retinue" (suite), "to keep company," "to court," "to keep a chief company at night"; and he gives the word *takimama* as meaning "to keep up the light in a chief's house during the night." From these terms, and the reference to personal services given above, it would appear that in Tonga the great chiefs, at all events, had a retinue which may be compared with that of Samoa, and that one of its members had the duty of guarding him and keeping his fire alight at night.

Mariner tells us something of the occupations followed by the different classes of society, and in a tabulated statement he divides them into those followed by *matabule* and *mua*, by *mua* and *tua*, and by *tua* only, stating also which were, and which were sometimes, hereditary[1]. I can hardly imagine that the differentiation can have been so clearly marked as Mariner's table seems to suggest.

SOCIETY ISLANDS

The available information concerning the middle and lower classes of society in the Society Islands is somewhat confusing, and the difficulty is increased by the different modes of spelling adopted by writers, which make it hard to discriminate between terms which may or may not really be the same. I therefore propose in the first place to adopt the spelling of each writer whom I quote. The *Duff* missionaries place these classes of Tahiti in the following order:

1. *Towha*. Near relations or younger brothers or *tayo* of chiefs.
2. *Ratirra*. Gentlemen owning land.
3. *Manahoune*. Those who cultivated the land.
4. *Toutou* and *tuti*. Servants, of whom the latter attended wholly on women[2].

Anderson divides them into

1. *Manahoone*. Vassals.
2. *Teou* or *toutou*. Servants or slaves[3].

Ellis, after heading his list with the *hui-ari'i* (the royal family and nobility) divides the classes into

1. *Bue* [*? hui*] *raatira*. Landed proprietors, or gentry, or farmers.
2. *Manahune*. Common people, with whom he includes
3. *Titi* and *teuteu*. Slaves and servants[4].

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 90–4. Cf. Père A. C., pp. x, 155.
[2] Wilson, pp. 322–5.
[3] Cook, vol. VI, p. 157.
[4] Ellis, vol. III, p. 95.

De Bovis refers to

1. *Eietoai* and *touhou*. A body of people between the *ari'i* and *raatira*; the first term being that employed in Tahiti and Eimeo, and the other the term used in the north-western islands. He does not regard them as a caste.
2. *Raatira*. Petty chiefs.
3. *Manahune*. Common people[1].

Lesson puts next after the kings

1. *Tiaau*. Petty chiefs of districts.
2. *Ratira*[2].

Scherzer gives as the classes

1. *Eietoai*. A class between the *ari'i* and *raatira*, corresponding to the European title of Honourable.
2. *Raatira* and *tataui*. Land-owners, the latter term being applied to the more distinguished members.
3. *Manahune*. Tenantry at will, a class that included prisoners of war[3].

The particulars given above are not all presented by writers in the short tabulated form in which I have put them; and I will now refer to some fuller and more explanatory information, though this will perhaps involve a little repetition.

I first refer to four words given by Davies in his dictionary —namely, *taua*, *taio*, *hoa* and *ehoa*, all of which, he says, meant "a friend," and [apparently also] "a companion." Cook says that the chiefs kept a kind of court, with a great number of attendants, chiefly younger brothers of their families, of whom some held particular offices, like members of a king's court[4]; and that the *ehoa* and *whannos* [I have not traced this term] were the principal persons about the king, forming his court, and were generally his relations[5]. Both G. Forster and J. R. Forster recognize the term *hoa* as simply meaning a friend, and not necessarily a relative[6]. The *Duff* missionaries say that the *towha* were the near relations, or younger brothers, or *tayo*, of the chiefs, and if there were more chiefs than one, the district was divided into different *padtoos* or parishes, and each of these chiefs had *towha* under him[7]. According to de Bovis, there was between the *ari'i* (chiefs) and *ra'atira* (middle classes) an intermediate class, called *eietoai* or *touhou*, who were what one might call nobles. He says that everything seemed to show that they were derived from marriages of families of the *ari'i*

[1] De Bovis, p. 238. [2] Lesson, *Poly.* vol. I, p. 407.
[3] Scherzer, vol. III, p. 247 *note*.
[4] Cook, vol. I, p. 225. [5] *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 323.
[6] Forster, *Voy.* vol. I, p. 328. Forster, *Obs.* p. 357 *note* 1.
[7] Wilson, pp. 322 *sq.*

with those of the *ra'atira*, and that the *ari'i* gave them a hereditary or temporary supremacy over certain parts of the country where they had influence; this was why foreigners found the islands divided into sub-districts, which had not changed, and had been ruled from that time by governors who had altered very little since[1].

Moerenhout refers to a great number of inferior chiefs called *tavana*, who, with the landed proprietors or *ra'atira*, played the rôle of feudal barons[2]; Lesson applies the term *tavana* to the chiefs who governed the twenty-two districts into which he divides Tahiti[3]. In Davies's dictionary I find *tavana* (English *governor*) given as designating the principal chief of a district. Both Scherzer and Ribourt, however, say that this term was merely derived from the English word "governor," adopted, according to Ribourt, since the arrival of the missionaries[4]. I therefore propose to disregard it.

We have, apparently, a number of words which were used to designate certain persons who seem to have been regarded as being in rank below the titled chiefs, but above the *ra'atira*; and I will, for the purpose of considering them, draw attention to the words *taio* and *hoa*. *Taio* is a well-known term applied to a person adopted as a special friend; and *hoa*, spelt *hoa*, *soa* or *oa*, according to consonantal interchanges, was the general term, used all over Polynesia, for a friend or companion. Ari'i Taimai in one place uses the term *hoa* as meaning a brother, and elsewhere uses with the same meaning the terms *hoa* and *taeae*, apparently regarded by her as synonymous. In both cases the term is used in connection with the adoption as a friend by one person of another, the adopted person in one case being a missionary[5]. Another point to which I refer is that *te* and its equivalents is the definite article "the" all over Polynesia, including Tahiti, and, being placed in front of other words, has, I think, sometimes been the source of confusion by travellers, who believed it to be an integral part of the word.

I will, on the basis of these data, indulge in a little speculation as to possible meanings of some of these terms, bearing in mind that they are all used for a body of persons standing between the *ari'i* and the *ra'atira*. I suggest that *towha*, *touhou*, *taua* and *ehoa* might be *te-hoa*, and that *tiaau* or *tayo* was *taio*.

[1] De Bovis, pp. 238 *sq.* [2] Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 69.
[3] Lesson, *Poly.* vol. I, p. 257.
[4] Scherzer, vol. III, p. 247 *note*. Ribourt, p. 204.
[5] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 123, 85.

I admit frankly that this is pure speculation, so far as the *te-hoa* interpretations are concerned, and that I may be quite wrong; but these terms, as used by writers, must be based upon Tahitian originals of some sort and mean something, and this is my excuse. If, however, I am correct, all these terms referred, possibly with some detailed variations of their usual meanings, to brothers, cousins, and perhaps other near relations, and to friends, of whom some would be relatives and others perhaps persons adopted as brothers or other relatives, which, according to Polynesian ideas, would amount to the same thing[1]; and they might well be used specially to designate relatives and friends of the chief's as the titled and aristocratic class. They would, in the main, be minor chiefs, or upper middle class people, whichever we like to call them.

I now turn to the people called by de Bovis and Scherzer *eietoai*. I have already, in considering local and social grouping, referred shortly to the groups of people called *hiva*, consisting of persons called individually *iatoai*, and I there said that I should consider them further in this chapter. Ari'i Taimai says that the *iatoai* were hereditary under chiefs, and that the whole body of the *iatoai* in each district was known as the *hiva*. They were the messengers of the head chiefs, and the chosen fighting chiefs or warriors, and they had, as part of their functions, the duty of punishing or revenging insults offered to the head chief. They may have been the source of parliament, civil service, army, law-courts, police, etc. They inherited the position, and the office might be filled by any of the family to represent the actual head[2]. Elsewhere, in discussing a dispute as to the succession to the head chieftainship of the district of Papara, she refers to the *hiva* as being the judges who would decide it[3]. Andia y Varela says there was no other judge, tribunal or member for trying the cases of offenders but the *ari'i*, and, in his absence a governor-general of the kingdom. In the case of Vehiatua a *tahaytoa* was deputed to fill this office[4]. The term used here is apparently the same as that we are discussing, the article *te* having been included as part of the noun. Corney, in commenting on this, says the term referred to the *iatoai toa*, a sort of martial landholder or baron, a Lord Lieutenant, High Sheriff and Puisne Judge in

[1] A person adopted into a family was regarded as a member of the family.
[2] Ari'i Taimai, p. 8.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 33.
[4] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, pp. 264 *sq.*

one, and that the position was hereditary, according to district[1]. Baessler, after giving the hereditary names of the chiefs of each of the Teva districts, says that, next to these chiefs stood the *iatoai*, or sub-chiefs, who called together the above-mentioned *ari'i* at the outbreak of a war, and had to lead the warriors to battle, and who together formed in each district a corporation called *hiva*, which had to give counsel as to important events, and whose power was so great that they could even depose and appoint chiefs. Then, after explaining the methods adopted in calling the people to war, he says that the dignity of the *iatoai* was, like that of the *ari'i*, hereditary in the family, and when something prevented the sub-chief from attending, another member of the family would represent him[2]. Stevenson compares the *iatoai* to the tacksmen of the Scottish Highlands, and says that the organization of eight sub-districts and eight *iatoai* to a division was in use until yesterday among the Teva[3]. I think we may assume that the term *eietoai* used by de Bovis and Scherzer was this *iatoai*.

There appears to have been some confusion in the mind of de Bovis in identifying the *iatoai* with the *touhou*—or, as I am calling them, *te-hoa*; and this is hardly matter for surprise, seeing that both of them seem to have been related to, or closely connected with, the chiefs. I think, however, that all the terms, other than *iatoai*, which we have been discussing may be regarded as having been general terms given to near relatives and friends—the latter having also been generally, and perhaps always, related either by blood or adoption—of the chiefs, whilst the *iatoai*, constituting collectively the *hiva*, were persons who had a definite official position as rulers of sub-districts, and apparently had some control over the succession to the title of the chief of the district. Referring to de Bovis's statement that the *ari'i* would give them hereditary or temporary supremacy over certain parts of the country *where they had influence*, I think we must believe that the government of these sub-districts was hereditary in certain families, the head of each of which was the *iatoai* of that sub-district, and that the temporary nature of an appointment would arise, not from the deprivation of the family that was entitled to it hereditarily, but from its transference to some other member of the family; hence comes de Bovis's statement that not only had the sub-

[1] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 265 *note* 1.
[2] Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 170 *sq.* [3] Stevenson, *Ballads*, p. 56 *note* 7.

districts not changed, but their governors also had altered very little.

If all this is correct, then we must recognize that there was a system of social relationship within the respective districts, the rulers of sub-districts having, apparently, been hereditary relations of the chiefs of the districts. It was for this reason that I referred to the *iatoai* and *hiva* in the discussion of social grouping, though I thought it advisable, for reasons that will, I think, be recognized, to postpone the discussion of the matter. I think that Smith points to the same thing when, in speaking of the district of Papara, he says that in it, as in every Tahitian district, all the body of chiefs, one above another, were more or less connected by kindred ties, but conservative in regard to their rank, and the inferior chiefs were mostly zealous in maintaining the dignity of their superior chief[1].

In discussing political areas and systems of the Society Islands I referred to what seems to have been a terminological, and perhaps symbolical, association of groups of people with canoes. I will now refer to another association or conception of a similar character, for which purpose I must mention some terms one or two of which have appeared already. In Davies's dictionary the following words are given with the following meanings; *iato*, the transverse beams which connect the outrigger to a canoe; *iatoai*, the second class of the inferior chiefs; *vaa*, a canoe; *vaahiva*, all the people within the prescribed limits of the island or district; *vaamataiina*, a division of the landowners; *hiva*, a clan, the company in a canoe. The present interest of these particulars lies in the association of the terms *iatoai* and *hiva* with canoes, and in the characters of somewhat similar associations found in Fiji and Rarotonga. In Fiji a chief of high rank had, in addition to his *marama*, or high-born wives, other inferior wives, whose children were called *kaso*; and it is explained that *kaso* were the spars which bound the body of a canoe to its outrigger. The chiefs were represented by the hull, the commoners by the outrigger, and the *kaso*, between the two, were tied to both, and yet belonged to neither[2]. We only have to assume that these *kaso* children would be what we may call minor chiefs, in order to see the similarities between the ideas of Fiji and Tahiti. The example from Rarotonga will be mentioned later. I may add that symbolism of a somewhat similar character is shown in the habit, at public assemblies,

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. VI, p. 212. [2] Fison, *J.A.I.* vol. X, p. 347 and *note*.

of comparing the people to a ship, of which the king was the mast, and the *ra'atira* were the ropes by which the mast was kept upright[1]. The similarity between de Bovis's suggestion that the *iatoai* of Tahiti were derived from marriages between members of *ari'i* families and those of the *ra'atira* and the use of the term *iato* for the beams connecting the outrigger to the canoe, and the use in Fiji of the term *kaso* both for the children of a high born chief by inferior wives and for the connecting spars between the body of a canoe and its outrigger will have been noticed. We seem to have in both cases a conception of a social relationship between the chiefs, represented by the canoe, and the middle or lower classes, represented by the outrigger, the connecting link being issue of intermarriages between members of the two classes of society, represented by the spars connecting the canoe with the outrigger; and I think this may be regarded as additional evidence pointing to social grouping in Tahiti.

The *ra'atira* were, according to Ellis, the gentry and farmers, the most influential class and the strength of the nation. They were generally owners of land, inherited from their ancestors, some of them having perhaps many hundred acres, and the less important members from a hundred to twenty acres. They were in general more regular and temperate in their habits than those of the higher ranks, and in all measures of government they imposed a restraint upon the extravagance or precipitancy of the king, who, without their co-operation, could carry but few of his measures. The number of their retainers or dependents was great[2]. So great was their influence that a measure of any importance, such as a declaration of war, or the fitting out of a fleet, was seldom undertaken without previous consultation with them, either by private discussion or by the summoning of a public council[3]. Ellis says they were divided into distinct classes[4], but he does not say what these were. De Bovis says that an *ari'i* never became a plain *ra'atira*, nor did the latter ever become an *ari'i*[5]. There is no doubt that intermarriages took place between members of these two classes, and indeed he thinks that the people whom he calls *eietoai* were the offspring of these marriages[6]. Such marriages would produce groups of people whose ancestry belonged to

[1] Ellis, vol. III, p. 97. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 96 *sqq.* Cf. de Bovis, pp. 243, 247.
[3] Ellis, vol. III, p. 117. Cf. de Bovis, pp. 243, 247. [4] Ellis, vol. III, p. 95.
[5] De Bovis, p. 240. [6] *Ibid.* pp. 238 *sq.*

both classes, thus involving social admixture between them; so the question seems merely to be who might, and who might not, call himself an *ari'i*. Tyerman and Bennet refer to a case of "the making of an *ari'i*—that is, adopting into the royal family a person of inferior birth"[1].

The *manahune* were, according to Ellis, "all who were destitute of any land, and ignorant of the rude arts of carpentering, building, etc., which were respected among them, and such as were reduced to a state of dependence upon those in higher stations....The fishermen and artisans (sometimes ranking with this class, but more frequently with that above it) may be said to have constituted the connecting link between the two"[2]. This may be a good general description of the *manahune*, but it does not seem to enable us to picture them as a defined class or rank of society. If Ellis's statement as to the *ra'atira* is exact, they were not all possessed of land; so up to this point we cannot discriminate between them and the *manahune*, but a difference arises in that the *ra'atira* were, Ellis tells us, an industrious class, building their own houses and making their own cloth and mats[3]. Even then, however, the apparent difference is only one of efficiency in craftsmanship. Would, say, an inefficient *ra'atira*, who was unable to do these things, and so became "reduced to a state of dependence" become a *manahune*? Could a member of the latter class who acquired skill be elevated to the rank of the *ra'atira*? De Bovis says a *manahune* could hardly get out of his caste, though he might become a *ra'atira* by a positive gift, though this was rare[4]. The *Duff* missionaries say that the *manahune* held their land under the *towha* and *ra'atira*, answered all their demands to the best of their ability, made cloth for them, built their houses and helped in laborious work, and that some of them were *ra* or sacred[5], and others common or unclean. I think we must associate this last statement with the general sanctity of chiefs as a class, and interpret it to mean that some of the *manahune* had some chief ancestry from which they had inherited some of this sanctity. The reference to building houses may refer to mere labour, and not responsible work, and so would not be inconsistent with what Ellis says. De Bovis says that the *manahune* lived on the land of the *ari'i* and *ra'atira*. He built a

[1] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 242.
[2] Ellis, vol. III, p. 96.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 97.
[4] De Bovis, p. 244.
[5] Wilson, p. 324.

house in the place assigned to him, and, with a few exceptions, enjoyed the fruit of his labour, and was so rarely dispossessed, if not through the fate of war, that he habitually transmitted his inheritance to his children and grandchildren, with the sole restriction that he was only the usufructuary of it; but this usufruct never ended in the family. The bondage was very gentle, consisting merely of certain gifts which every inferior made to his superior or host, without troubling very much about the rights of rent-charge[1].

I now pass to the class of servants and slaves. According to Davies's dictionary, *teu* meant an attendant on a chief or principal man; *teuau* meant an attendant on a chief; *teuteu* meant servants, attendants on a chief; *teuteu-ari'i* meant king's attendants; and *titi* meant a captive in war, a slave, a refugee. Ellis uses the term *teuteu* for the servants and *titi* for the slaves, but his comments all refer to the slaves. He defines them as having been those who had lost their liberty in battle, or who, in consequence of the defeat of the chiefs to whom they were attached, had become the property of the conquerors, but includes among them men who, when disarmed or disabled in the field, fled to a chief for protection, and so became his slaves. He discusses the question of slavery in Tahiti; but the only point to which I need refer is his statement that slaves or captives were always liable to suffer vindictive murder or to be reserved as human victims to be offered to the gods[2]. J. R. Forster says of the *teuteu* that they cultivated the lands of the chiefs (in which term he probably includes other landed proprietors), fed their pigs and dogs, and provided them with food and clothing. He suggests that they were a kind of property of their masters, and could be given away to others, his reason for this being a case in which it was in fact done[3]. I think it probable that it would be a slave who was given away. Bougainville also refers to this class[4].

The *tuti* class of attendants, who, according to the *Duff* missionaries, attended wholly on the women, included not uncommonly young men of the first families, who were "so debased" by such feminine service that they became excluded from all religious ceremonies[5]. I suspect these must have been the *mahoo*, of whom I shall speak directly.

[1] De Bovis, p. 244.
[2] Ellis, vol. III, pp. 95 *sq.*
[3] Forster, *Obs.* p. 371.
[4] Bougainville, pp. 254, 270.
[5] Wilson, p. 325.

Ari'i Taimai refers to a chief who had two jesters, a class of men much petted and allowed many liberties by all *ari'i*. Among other privileges, they were always in the habit of receiving some of the best shares in the distributions by the *ari'i* of food[1].

There was in Tahiti a strange class of society, identified apparently by the *Duff* missionaries with the *tuti*, but spoken of by writers as *mawhoo* or *mahoo*. They were men who adopted the rôle of women. According to the missionaries, these people adopted the *mawhoo* life when young; they dressed like women, followed their employments, including cloth making, and lived with and waited on women, and an example is given of one of them seen in Pomare's train who mimicked the voice and every peculiarity of the sex. They sought the courtship of men, just as women did so, were even more jealous than were women of the men who cohabited with them, and always refused to sleep with women. The actual women did not despise them, but formed friendships with them, and one of them was *taio* to the wife of Pomare I. They were kept only by the principal chiefs. They were treated as women, and not as men, in the application of all the rules of the taboo. They were under the prohibitions to which women were subject as regards food, not being allowed to eat with men, or to eat their food, and having separate plantations for their own use; but they might gather and dress the women's food. They might not kindle fire from a fire made by other men, but women might kindle it from fire made by them. They were excluded from all religious assemblies, might not tread the sacred ground of the *marae*, or eat of food which had been there, or had been touched by those who officiated at the altar[2]. Crook gives an account of the behaviour that was witnessed between Pomare II and a man who was evidently a *mahoo*, and says that Pomare kept young men of this description near his person, and avoided the company of females[3].

HERVEY ISLANDS

I have found no definite information as to the classes of society in the island of Mangaia; but in Rarotonga, according to Williams, the class after the *ariki*, or king, was that of the *mataiapo* or governors of districts, after which come the *ranga-*

[1] Ari'i Taimai, p. 78.
[2] Wilson, pp. 156, 198, 325, 339, 342, 347, 371. Cf. Turnbull, p. 382.
[3] Crook, pp. 66, 73.

tira or landholders, and finally the *unga* or tenants[1]. He says there was not such inequality of rank as in Tahiti, a man being great according to the number of his *kainga*, or farms, which contained from one to four or five acres each and were let to tenants[2]. I think his *ariki* or king probably refers to the rulers of the two, or perhaps three, main groups into which the people were divided, though this is not quite clear.

According to William Gill, these ranks were as stated above. He says the *mataiapo* were a class of independent landholders, either related to the *ariki*, or having gained their position by deeds of valour [we have seen in the chapter on "Chiefs" that Nicholas calls them "minor chiefs" and Moss calls them "nobles"]; under them were the *rangatira*, a kind of dependent tenantry, having certain privileges which distinguished them from the mass of common people; these were the *unga*, and were in the condition of serfs. "Caste" did not exist as a system; yet each grade had its distinct position in society[3]. *Unga* has several meanings, of which one is the "hermit crab"[4].

I draw attention to Williams's reference to the absence of inequality of rank and Gill's mention of the absence of caste. Apparently they both refer to the same thing, and though I do not understand exactly what they mean, the most likely interpretation is, I think, that the several named classes were not so sharply differentiated as in, say, Tahiti.

Moss classifies and describes the people, after the *ariki*, as follows: The *mataiapo*, to whom he refers as being "nobles," were the most powerful class. The *rangatira* held under the *mataiapo*, under the *ariki*, or other independent land owners; their services were public and honourable, but rendered at the call of the owner of their land, and given to the public in his name. The *komono* were the second sons of *rangatira*, by a second wife, half brothers of the eldest, who was the rightful successor; the *komono* was of right one of the family. The *unga* were the lowest. They held their land by sufferance, and

[1] Williams, p. 214.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 213 *sq.* *Kainga* and its equivalents are used widely in Polynesia with the meaning of a place of abode. A possible origin of the term is *kai* (food) and *ainga* (a family or relative), its meaning being a place where relatives ate together, as to which I may refer to the practice at feasts for the several families to arrange themselves in separate groups, and not mix with one another. In Tonga *kainga* is used with the meanings, a relative, a friend, affinity, related; and perhaps the *kainga* to which Williams refers would be settlements of related families (see Tregear's *Dictionary*, p. 117).

[3] W. Gill, *Gems*, vol. II, pp. 11 *sq.*

[4] Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VII, p. 800.

their services were personal and menial. Their origin is obscure, but probably they were not slaves[1]. It is curious that these *komono* have not been mentioned by either of the other writers, but they may have included them among the *rangatira*. It will be remembered that both the *mataiapo* and the *komono* are mentioned, and are referred to as minor chiefs, in the traditions about Karika and Tangiia, and that in one place it is said that they set up eighty of each of these classes; the editors of the journal in which the traditions are published say, in a note, that both ranks were minor chiefs, ranking beneath the *ariki*, and holding their lands independently[2].

Gill refers in several writings to the class of *unga*[3], but the only point to which I need draw attention is that, according to him, they were, apparently, both in Mangaia and Rarotonga, liable to be killed for sacrifice and feasts[4].

I have, in discussing the social grouping of the people of Rarotonga, referred to the use of the term *ngati* for a group of people, apparently, according to the actual meaning of the term, of common descent. This term was, it seems, applicable to any group having, or believed to have, a common ancestry, and Moss, as we have seen, uses it to designate a group of people forming a section of a *vaka*, or tribe, by which he evidently means one of the three main groups—the Karika, Tangiia, and Tinomana—of Rarotonga. This island had, according to Moss, symbolic ideas, associated with that of a canoe, somewhat similar in character to, though not identical with, those found in Fiji and Tahiti. The word *vaka*, or its equivalents (*va'a* in Tahiti) meant "a canoe," and *kiato* (*iato* in Tahiti) meant the spars connecting the canoe with its outrigger. Moss says that the *vaka* consisted of the *ariki* and his *kiato*. The *kiato* thus consisted of all the tribe, except the *ariki* when the tribe was referred to; and of all the *ngata*, except its chief, and of all the family, except its head, when the term was applied to either of them respectively[5]. It seems probable that in all these cases the canoe that formed the subject of the symbolism would be the big war canoe; and if so, we get another illustration of ideas as to the duty of social co-operation in war.

[1] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 24.
[2] *J.P.S.* vol. I, p. 29.
[3] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 14; *L.S.I.* pp. 332 *sq.*; *A.A.A.S.* vol. VII, pp. 799 *sq.* Cf. W. Gill, *Gems*, vol. II, p. 12.
[4] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 34.
[5] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 21.

MARQUESAS

G. Forster (1774), writing of Nukuhiva in the Marquesas, says that an *akaiki* or chief did not have much respect paid to him[1]; the people were equal among themselves; they had not reached the Tahitian degree of civilization; difference of rank did not take place among them; their political constitution had not acquired a settled monarchical form, and no particular respect or honour was in a district to which he specially refers, paid to their king Honu, whose pre-eminence appeared only in his dress[2]; the people were equal among themselves[3]. This Honu would no doubt be the head chief of one of the main groups (probably in Anna Maria Bay), as there was no king of all Nukuhiva. Hale (1838–42) says that in the Marquesas there was less distinction of rank than in any other group. There were certain persons to whom the title of *aiki* (or more commonly *hakaiki*) was given, but it procured for them no power or influence beyond what they would otherwise possess, all they derived from the distinction consisting of certain tokens of respect that were paid to them. The rest of the people were landowners, or their relatives and tenants. A general feeling of equality and personal independence prevailed, as in New Zealand. There were no slaves[4]. Radiguet (1842–3) says society in the Marquesas was still in a rudimentary state[5].

Both Stewart and Vincendon-Dumoulin divide the people into two main groups—not specific grades—first the taboo class, which included all sacred and secular ranks except the very common people, who formed the non-taboo class[6]. I do not think we must attach too much importance to this dual division. It probably points merely to a general idea that there was a certain amount of sanctity in all men, except the very lowest, the idea being perhaps similar in character to that of Tonga, which, according to Mariner, caused them to believe that all classes of society had souls which on death went to paradise, except the very lowest, who had no souls, or had such only as dissolved with the body after death[7].

I draw attention to the statements as to general equality among the people, including the chiefs, and to my comments as to the taboo class. We shall see, in discussing the sanctity

[1] Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 19. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 31 *sq.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 35.
[4] Hale, pp. 35 *sq.* [5] Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 607.
[6] Stewart, vol. I, pp. 266 *sq.* Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* pp. 226–31.
[7] Mariner, vol. II, p. 100.

of chiefs, that the sanctity, at all events of the higher Marquesan chiefs, and the infective taboo which was attributed to them, seems to have been comparable with that of Tahiti; and the question of their powers will be considered in another chapter. I think the evidence on all these subjects is more or less contradictory and difficult to co-ordinate, and that we must not assume that the element of equality, at all events as between the higher chiefs and their people, was as great as some writers appear to think.

The information provided as to the various classes of society is not presented in a form that enables me to tabulate them as I have done with reference to other islands. I shall, in dealing with it, exclude the *atua* class (men deified in their lifetimes) and the various grades of priesthood. Radiguet only gives two classes, the *aka'iki* (that is, of course, the chiefs, to whom I have already referred), and the *kikino*, who, he says, formed the rest of the population. These *kikino* were not distinguishable externally from the *aka'iki*. They were generally the servants and soldiers of the chiefs, and their ordinary occupation was confined to preparing and serving the food of the family. A *kikino* ate of the same dish, and slept on the same mat as his master and was often the husband of the same woman; but he was not bound to the master and could leave him and go to another if he liked. Radiguet says of the chiefs that a man was an *aka'iki* by right of birth, or might become one by being illustrious in war, by marrying a woman chief, or by getting adopted by a chief. If an *aka'iki* had several children, it was the eldest boy or girl who inherited the title and property, and the other children were *kikino*[1]. If this last statement is correct it is clear that there was no *social* line of differentiation between the two classes. I have found no reference by any other writer to this term *kikino*; Vincendon-Dumoulin speaks of a class of *toa* or warriors[2], but this word, according to Tregear's dictionary, simply means "a warrior," "brave," "male." Tautain refers to the families of chiefs as being called *akatia* in the north-western islands, and *anatia* in those to the south-east[3]. The letter *r* is not sounded in the Marquesas,

[1] Radiguet, vol. XXIII, pp. 607 *sq.* I suspect that some of the things said as to the practical relationship of a *kikino* to his *aka'iki*, and especially perhaps that of being the husband of the same woman, refer to the case of a *kikino* who was the *aka'iki's* younger brother.

[2] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 231.

[3] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, p. 541.

and we have seen, in considering areas and systems, that the *ng* was replaced by *k* in the north-west and by *n* in the south-east. It follows that this term is the same as the *rangatira* of Rarotonga and the *ra'atira* of Tahiti. As regards the whole matter, so far as our available information goes, we can only divide the people of the Marquesas (excluding priests and the lower classes) into chiefs and middle classes, and these appear to have been related to each other.

We are told of certain "classes" of society, whose differentiation is apparently one of occupation, rather than of rank; and I propose to refer to them. The *peio-pekeio* were a class who received their sustenance from the chiefs for whom they performed servile offices, cultivated the soil, gathered in vegetables, etc., and prepared food, in which they shared themselves[1]. Among these we must, I imagine, include the firemaker, attached to every important chief, and who also acted as a personal attendant upon his master. This official, however, had the further duty, when the chief was absent, of playing the part of husband to his wife, and guarding her virtue from attacks by others[2]. A class more independent than the *peio-pekeio* were the *averia*, or professional fishermen[3].

Another class was that of the *hoki* or *kaioa*. Vincendon-Dumoulin says they were something like wandering troubadours, singers, who went from tribe to tribe, getting what they could (*chercher fortune*). They were poets, musicians, composers and declaimers, and it was they who danced at great feasts. They were careful of their persons, and, like women, whitened their skin with the juice of *papa*. They were not, however, treated with much respect, as indeed their effeminate habits attracted contempt[4]. Stewart says that, besides those men who were personal attendants on the women, such of the male sex as engaged in the public songs and dances at their places of amusement was included as "common"[5]. And again, he says there was among the men a species of dandy, who imitated the females in the use of the juice of the *papa* and in avoiding all exposure to the sun, but did it at the

[1] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 231. Cf. d'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 327; Porter, vol. II, p. 65; Shillibeer, p. 51; Jardin, p. 184.

[2] Krusenstern, vol. I, pp. 153, 167. Cf. Langsdorff, vol. I, p. 146; Wilson, p. 140; d'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. I, pp. 497 *sq.*; Hamilton, p. 47. Here again I think this man was probably the chief's younger brother.

[3] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 231. Cf. d'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 327.

[4] Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 231. [5] Stewart, vol. I, p. 216.

sacrifice of the privileges of the taboo, and were indeed mainly of the number under its restrictions as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions; but in another place, in describing a tribal entertainment, he says that the singers performing the recitations and choruses accompanying the dance sat with the chiefs, etc., on the seats on the higher pavements[1].

The first point to which I draw attention is that the word spelt *kaioa* is probably *kaioi*, which is the same as the Society Island *arioi*, the *k* being wanting in Tahiti and the *r* in the Marquesas, but the question whether these people were the equivalent of the *arioi* societies of the Society Islands cannot be discussed now. The dancers of the Marquesas, who kept their persons white by seclusion from the sun and whitened their skins with *papa* juice, were generally, or often, I think, men of high rank.

But there is another curious question. Vincendon-Dumoulin refers to the care which the entertainers took of their persons and their use of the *papa* juice; Stewart speaks of personal attendants on women, but apparently distinguishes between them and the entertainers; but then he speaks of the dandies with their effeminate habits and use of the *papa* juice who sacrificed the privileges of the taboo, and were chiefly under its restrictions as entertainers. It looks as though there were some confusion in the evidence, and it may be that there were in the Marquesas a number of men (distinct from the dancers), who in a way adopted feminine habits, and who were deprived of the masculine privileges, and subject to the feminine restrictions, involved by the taboo. There is no suggestion of practices similar to those of the men-women of Tahiti; but the features of possible similarity may be noticed.

D'Urville says that the *nohoua* were the common people, the lowest class of all[2]. Vincendon-Dumoulin, who says that these were the people who were not regarded as taboo, tells us that they had no land, were not skilled warriors or builders, but tilled the land, and their condition was the most miserable of all, and it was from their ranks that the greatest number of victims demanded by the priests was taken[3]. It is possible that these people were in fact prisoners of war, as there is evidence of a custom of sometimes saving the lives of conquered enemies, who were adopted into and entered the tribes

[1] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 233. [2] D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 328.
[3] *I.M.* pp. 231 *sq.*

of their conquerors[1], being, as one writer says, reduced to slavery or simply eaten[2]. Their use for sacrificial purposes renders this belief more probably true. Hale says there were no slaves in the Marquesas[3]; but the value of this statement depends upon what he means by slaves.

PAUMOTU

Two Mangarevan terms, *pakaora* and *huru-manu* are used by writers. *Pakaora* is defined by the French missionaries as meaning the descendants of ancient victors[4]; by Cuzent as being applied to the descendants of warriors, who formed the middle class[5]; and Caillot refers to them as persons possessing some means[6]. The *huru-manu* were, according to the missionaries and Cuzent, the lowest class[7]. Caillot speaks of them as the common people, including, apparently, some of the warriors[8]. Caillot groups all these people together, as distinguished from the *ariki* or *tongoiti*, thus forming two main classes; he refers to the great distance between these two classes, "such as the person of mean birth could never cross; one was born, lived, and died plebeian, just as one was born, lived, and died noble"[9]. I also find the word *rangatira* given as meaning "a chief," "a principal," "an owner," "a proprietor"[10], and *noo* as meaning "the common people," "the mob"[11]; whilst *kaiaro* is given as the term for "to enslave," "a captive"[12]. I may say, as to this, that according to an account of fighting in Mangareva, such of the defeated people as did not succeed in escaping became slaves of the conqueror[13]; and that it is said that in the island of Anaa the young women and children were kept as slaves[14]. The king of Mangareva had his prime minister and his courtiers and pages and a number of other servants, each charged with specific duties[15].

I am not clear, as regards the *pakaora*, how we should interpret the statements that they were the descendants of warriors or ancient victors. I think, however, that a possible explanation is that they were people recognized as being descended from

[1] *I.M.* p. 258. D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 330.
[2] Du Petit Thouars, vol. II, p. 358.
[3] Hale, p. 36.
[4] *A.P.F.* vol. XXXI, p. 374.
[5] Cuzent, *V.I.G.* p. 119.
[6] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 146.
[7] *A.P.F.* vol. XXXI, p. 374. Cuzent, *V.I.G.* p. 119.
[8] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 146.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 11.
[11] *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 186.
[12] *Ibid.* p. 52.
[13] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 193.
[14] Moerenhout, vol. I, pp. 370 *sq.*
[15] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 336.

warrior *ariki* or *tongoiti*—kings or chiefs—(see chapter on "Chiefs") of past times, but who did not belong to the class of chiefs. They would thus come within the description of what we are calling middle classes. We cannot identify them with, or distinguish them from, the *rangatira*; but it is possible that the term *pakaora* was applied to *rangatira* families of recognized old and honourable origin.

NIUE

I have referred, in connection with the subject of chiefs, to Smith's use of both the terms *patu* and *iki* as meaning a chief; but, though he is not quite clear, I am not sure that the two terms were quite identical and interchangeable, so we must consider the matter a little further. Smith refers to the term *fangai* (Maori, *whangai*) meaning "to feed," as being used for a collection of relatives, suggesting that this use of the word was based on the custom for members of a family to feed together[1]. *Patu*, according to Williams, meant "a commander," "a stalk"[2]. *Iki*, and its equivalents, meant "a chief" throughout Polynesia. Now Smith says, as we have seen, there were a good many chiefs who were called either *iki* or *patu*, and this statement would be consistent with the presence of some difference in the use of the two terms, though it does not necessarily imply it. Further on, however, he says that the term *patu*, which represented the head of a family, was more commonly used than *iki*; he identifies it with the term *fatu* (Maori, *whatu*), used in parts of Polynesia to mean, "a lord or chief, the head or core or centre of authority"; he says that the *patu* were the heads of the *fangai*, formed the local *fono*, or councils, of each village, and with the *iki* filled the various offices required in the polity of Niue, and did all the speechifying. In former times they were the leaders in war, the *toa*, or warriors, and moreover were the principal landowners[3].

It seems clear that Smith does not here regard the terms as having been quite identical, and the following seems to me the most probable explanation of the matter. The term *patu* was general, designating the head of a social group, large or small,

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 168.
[2] Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 67.
[3] Smith, *J.P.S.*, vol. XI, p. 178.

which might belong to the aristocracy, in which case the *patu* would be spoken of as an *iki*, or might belong to a lower rank of society, and so the term *iki* would not properly be applied to him; though probably there was no hard and fast line of demarcation between the two ranks. This interpretation brings Niue very much into line with what I think was the position in Samoa and Tonga, and it is, I think, consistent with some of Smith's statements. The persons who might be called either *iki* or *patu* would be heads of families on the border-line between the upper and middle classes; and the more common use of the term *patu* would be consistent with the confinement of the term *iki* to what I may call the higher chiefs. It would be these upper chiefs or *iki* who filled the high offices required in the polity of the whole island, whilst the *patu*—minor chiefs or commoners or both, just as we may choose to call them—would be the speakers at the local village *fono*. So also we have seen that *patu-iki* meant the king, and this term would be applicable to him as the *patu* or head of the *iki*, who were the *patu* of the upper classes.

Smith refers to the *lalo-tangata* or lower orders, over whom, he says, the *iki* and *patu* were supreme[1]. He speaks of the practice for the conquerors in war to enslave such of the conquered people as did not succeed in escaping, saying that these would generally be women and children. He says the name for a slave was *tupa*—a crab—and compares it with the *unga* of Rarotonga[2].

The *patu-iki*, or king of the whole island, had in each village a representative called *alavaka*, or *alanga-vaka*; and he also had an officer called *alanga-vaka-ne-mua*, or chief *alanga-vaka*, who was a kind of prime minister, and may be said to have carried on the business of the whole island, and indeed sometimes usurped the power over it of the *patu-iki*. He was assisted by another minister called a *hangai*, whose functions Smith does not know[3]. I draw attention to the appearance of this term *vaka*; but I have found no reference to any symbolic idea connected with a canoe in Niue.

ROTUMA

Hale divides the middle and lower classes of Rotuma into the *mamthua* or *mathua* (councillors or elders) and the *tha-muri*

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 178.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 212.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 175. Perhaps he had to look after the food supply.

(common people)[1]. I think the former of these terms must be *matua* (the elders); and it would perhaps refer to the *pure*, or heads of the *hoang*, who would take part in a district council. Allen says that every Rotuman was a landowner[2]; but I do not imagine that this statement would include the labouring classes. Gardiner says the *sou* [sacred king] had as attendants a number of officers, and gives the names or titles of these. I cannot say whether or not some of the names given may have been the names of certain families who held certain offices, or whether we must regard them all as having been terms designating the offices. Some of these officers formed, with some of their people, a special guard for the *sou*, and always accompanied him. They were armed with spears, and people who did not pay the necessary marks of respect were speared. They were bound to protect him, and if he was killed in war, any of them who had survived the combat were killed[3].

UVEA

In considering the subject of the chiefs, I have included among those of Uvea what are called village chiefs, though there is not a reference to any Polynesian term by which they were designated as a class. We may probably regard them as having been minor chiefs, or members of a middle class—whichever English terminology we choose to adopt. The only class below them, to which I have found any reference, is that of the *tua*, who formed the lowest class, and who, according to Mangeret, owed respect to, and were subject to the commands of all the others[4].

EASTER ISLAND

I have found no information as to scales of rank below that of the chiefs in Easter Island, except a reference to slaves, where, it is said, the conquered became, with his wives and children, the slaves of the conqueror, who took all that he possessed, and that the slave had to work on the land for his master, and perform the roughest work[5].

[1] Hale, p. 105. [2] Allen, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 573.
[3] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, pp. 461 *sqq.*
[4] Mangeret, vol. I, p. 106; Bourdin, p. 497.
[5] Lapelin, *R.M.C.* vol. XXXV, p. 111.

TIKOPIA

Rivers says that in Tikopia it was the duty of the *paito ariki* (the brothers of a chief) to see that the orders of the chief were carried out, his word being law to the people. Another rank was that of *te pure matua*, which Rivers thinks belonged to the heads of families, the dignity being hereditary. The *pure matua* acted, we are told, as counsellors and protectors of the chief, and it was their duty to provide him with food, each doing this for a day in turn, and the chief giving a present in return, and, when his larder was overstocked, giving the excess to the *pure matua*[1].

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 340.

CHAPTER XXVII

PRIESTS AND SORCERERS

PRELIMINARY

RIVERS, after discussing the existing lack of terminological exactitude and uniformity in the use of the words "religion" and "magic," explains the sense in which he proposes to use the former term. He says, "when I speak of religious practices, I shall mean practices which are believed to bring human beings into relation with powers which they regard as higher than themselves. On the intellectual side, the belief in this relation shows itself in the presence of the elements of appeal and propitiation in the rites which are held to bring the people into relation with the higher powers, while on the affective side, it shows itself especially in awe, wonder and love, which go far to make up the special group of emotions and sentiments associated with religion. The special significance of the element of appeal which I hold to be characteristic of religion is that it implies a belief that the being to whom the appeal is made is able to withhold that for which he is asked"[1]. Rivers does not tell us so precisely in what sense he uses the term "magic," but the main feature by which, he suggests, it has been distinguished from religion seems to be that the actions of the agents engaged in it are believed by those agents to be in themselves sufficient to produce the results desired, without any element of appeal or supplication to a higher power[2]; although, as he points out, in certain parts of Melanesia, some kind of spiritual agency was concerned in the rites of magic, the *mana* or power of the stone or other object used by the magician being due to a *vui*, or spirit, this spirit had no power to withhold the production of the desired effect[3].

In Polynesia there were graded classes of men who engaged in operations, some of which were obviously religious, whilst others were of the character of magic. Writers call some of these people "priests," and others "sorcerers," the latter being, speaking generally, an inferior class. The evidence shows,

[1] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. II, p. 405. [2] *Ibid.* p. 404. [3] *Ibid.* p. 406.

however, that some of the priests, who in their observances were in the habit of appealing to the gods, engaged in operations which we should, from their character, include under the term magic; and it was in some cases through a god, who might or might not comply with the prayer of the priest, that the processes of magic were put into operation. It will be seen therefore that the distinction between religion and magic, as suggested above, must, if applied to Polynesia, be subjected to some qualification. I hope to discuss the religious and magical operations of the Polynesians at a later date; but my impression at present is that the peculiarity, in this respect, of Polynesian ideas and practices probably had its origin in the interaction between what would, I imagine, be an earlier belief in magic, pure and simple, and a later cult of theism, from which interaction arose the idea that sometimes gods, acting on the persuasion and through the instrumentality of their priests, caused the desired effects to follow certain acts by these priests, the character of which acts was, in some respects at all events, similar to that of the operations usually performed by magicians or sorcerers. It follows therefore that in tabulating the grades in the islands of Polynesia of the people spoken of by writers as priests or sorcerers, or described as having been engaged in operations of a religious or supernatural character, we must not assume the presence of any clearly defined line of distinction between priests and sorcerers. I must also point out, as regards the whole subject matter with which I propose to deal, that I shall only be considering it in the light of statements by writers as to the functions of the various classes of persons to which they refer, and that further light will be thrown upon it when, at a future date, I describe the actual ceremonial practices and performances in which these persons engaged. I shall in a later chapter introduce evidence pointing to a close association between the offices of chief and priest, and indicating that chiefs and other heads of social groups, great or small, were to a greater or less extent *ex-officio* priests of their groups. This close association does not, however, appear to have prevailed as between the chiefs and all the classes of the priesthood, and for the present I propose to content myself with referring to evidence touching the question of the priesthood generally.

SAMOA

In Samoa the professional priests were called *taula-aitu* (anchors of the spirits)[1]. They were divided, according to Stair, into four classes, viz. priests of the war gods, keepers of the war gods, family priests and prophets or sorcerers[2]. The *taula-aitu-o-aitu-tau* (anchors of the priests of the war gods) were important personages, being consulted, and invoking the help of several war gods, and especially the national war gods, in time of war; in particular they appealed to the great war goddess Nafanua. Each district, however, also had its own war god. The *tausi-aitu-tau* (keepers of the war gods) had the custody of the emblems or objects supposed to be inspired by the district war gods. Stair does not, however, say whether these priests merely acted as custodians, or whether they also engaged in religious observances. The *taula-aitu-o-ainga* (anchors of gods of families) were the priests of the family gods. The *taula-aitu-vavalo-ma-fai-tu'i* (anchors of the gods to predict or curse) are defined by Stair as having been prophets and sorcerers. Their services were sought to discover the whereabouts of stolen articles and identify the thief, to effect revenge, by means of curses, for injuries committed upon the persons consulting them, and to predict the probable issue of sickness and invoke the aid of the gods in curing it[3]. There was a term *va'afaatau* used for priests, or for some class of the priesthood[4], but I cannot define it. *Va'a* means a canoe, and, according to Pratt's dictionary, a priest; *fa'a* is a causative prefix; *tau*, according to Père A. C.'s Tongan dictionary, or *taua*, according to Pratt's Samoan dictionary, means war. It seems probable that *va'afa'atau* has some symbolic connection with a canoe, such as is recorded from Fiji, Tahiti and Rarotonga. This is also suggested by the use of the term *taula* (anchor). All the different orders of priesthood possessed great influence over the minds of the people who were kept in constant fear by their threats, and impoverished by their exactions[5]. The village priest also appointed feast days in honour of the god, and conveyed to the people the divine wishes[6].

There is a Maori word *tohunga* which, according to Tregear's dictionary, means a skilled person, and among others, a priest.

[1] Stair, p. 220. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 23 *note*. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 638.
[2] Stair, p. 220.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 220–5.
[4] Stuebel, p. 74. Cf. Pratt's dictionary.
[5] Stair, p. 225. Cf. Brown, p. 228.
[6] Pritchard, p. 110.

This term, in one form of spelling or another, is widely spread in Polynesia, being applied to such occupations as carpentering, and apparently to any trade or art, at all events if it involved some skill. Its use with the meaning of "priest" prevails or prevailed, according to this dictionary, in New Zealand, Tahiti, Hawai'i and Mangaia, and in the Paumotu it is or was used for a sorcerer; it is possible that it was used to designate a priest or sorcerer in other islands also. The interest of this matter, as affecting our present subject, is that there seems to be no doubt that skill in any work was in Polynesia commonly attributed to gods or other supernatural beings, and the priest or sorcerer would be called *tohunga* because of his ability to pray to the gods, or exercise the other supernatural powers of his craft.

The only meanings given in Pratt's dictionary for *tufunga* (the Samoan equivalent of *tohunga*) are "a carpenter," "a tattoo-maker." I have already referred to this term in discussing the middle and lower classes of Samoa, but we must now look at these departmental experts from another point of view. Von Bülow says that the chiefs of families and clans, the doctors, boat-makers, carpenters, fishermen, tattooers and old women functioned as priests[1]. Payment to the artisans was not regarded as compensation for the work performed, but as an offering to the gods, and, indeed, the master workman as priest of the god disposed of the payments in the name of the god, as is evident, says von Bülow, from the fact that the last gift in connection with house-building, boat-making, and the making of a net, was called *umusa*, *umu* meaning "oven" and in a figurative sense that which was baked in the oven, and *sa*, meaning "sacred"; and he refers to certain practices pointing, as he suggests, to the sacred character of the work of making these things[2].

Stuebel, speaking generally of the subject of the priesthood, says that there were a number of persons who acted professionally. It was not with them a question of any special, much less hereditary calling. The activity was not connected with any name, by which he apparently means any family. Anyone could attain to a certain respect and recognition through lucky soothsaying or treatment of the sick. Now and then the son also became a soothsayer[3].

[1] Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 367.
[2] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIV, p. 25.
[3] Stuebel, p. 75

There is no suggestion by the writers whom I have quoted that the Samoan priests had any mental infirmity or other defect, such as is often attributed by uncultured races to supernatural possession[1]; but there is an indication of this. It is said that the office of the *taula-aitu* was often taken up or given on account of malformation, or from a striking peculiarity in temper or disposition. Hence many hunchbacks and epileptics were *taula-aitu*, being regarded as possessed of an *aitu*; and the writer says that the only woman *taula-aitu* known to him was an epileptic[2]. The extraordinary proceedings, with contortions and foaming at the mouth, of persons who were under the inspiration of a god are, I may say, reported from a number of islands.

There were evidently priestesses in Samoa. This has been indicated by Stair's statement that the head of a family, or his sister, was its priest[3], by the references above to old women functioning as priests and to a woman priest who was an epileptic; and von Bülow says that women priests served certain *aitu*[4].

TONGA

In Tonga the term for a priest was, according to Mariner, *fahe-ngehe*, which meant "split off," "separate," or "distinct from," the idea being that the priest was a man with a peculiar or distinct quality of mind or soul, which disposed some god to inspire him occasionally[5]. West divides priests into two classes; viz. first the *taula*, or priests who were supposed to be inspired by the gods, whilst receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers; and second, the *feao*, who were attendants on the *taula*, offered the sacrifices made by worshippers, and whose duty it was to maintain the temples in good order and repair[6].

I find in Père A. C.'s dictionary the following terms: *motua-tapu*, a priest; *kikiti*, a diviner or prophet; *taula*, a stone serving to anchor a canoe, a sacrificer; *taulavae*, a sacrificer. I find in Baker's dictionary the following: *taulaiki lahi*, a high priest; *kikiti*, to divine, foretell, augur or prophesy; *kau-kikiti*, a prophet; *moihu*, a priest, a mediator, one who offers sacrifice; *taula*, an anchor, a priest.

[1] Cf. Frazer, *B.I.* p. 15.
[2] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 638.
[3] Stair, p. 222.
[4] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 56.
[5] Mariner, vol. II, p. 87.
[6] West, pp. 254 *sq.*

Lawry uses the term *taula eiki* for the chief priest[1]. Bastian says that while the *taula* or priest was inspired in the temple, his assistant or *feao* brought offerings to the god[2]; but he also uses the term *taula-eiki* for a priest[3]. Reiter says that *taula eiki* meant the anchor of the chief (or lord), and denoted the object or individual in which the divinity or superior spirit appeared; it was specially used in speaking of persons, for each divinity or *faahi kehe* had his appointed individual in whom he appeared from time to time[4].

It seems clear that *taula*, meaning, as in Samoa, an anchor, was a general term for a priest, and we may well believe that *taula eiki* was a superior form of designation, and that this term and *taulaiki lahi*, were both used for a head priest, *lahi* meaning "great." I see, as regards *fahe-ngehe*, that *fahe* meant a division or class of men, and *ngehe* meant distinct or different[5]; so this word was apparently another descriptive term for a priest. It looks as if it were the same word as Reiter's *faahi kehe*, though the latter applies it to the god and not to the priest. We may, I think, accept the term *feao*, referred to by both West and Bastian, as meaning an assistant or attendant priest, more especially as I find in Baker's dictionary that the word meant "to attend upon," "to guard," "to accompany as a servant"; this man was very likely a guardian of the sacred objects, and the assistant of the priest when engaged in his sacred duties. *Kikiti* evidently meant a diviner or prophet; but we cannot say whether it referred to a distinct class of the priesthood, or was merely descriptive of priests who could do certain things. I should imagine that *kau-kikiti* was a plural, referring to diviners and prophets generally. *Motua-tapu* would simply mean a sacred old man. *Vae* is given in Baker's dictionary as meaning "to divide a fish longways"; in Père A. C.'s dictionary *vahe* is given with the general meaning "to divide," and the same meaning is given by Mariner[6]. Possibly the use of the term *taula vae* for a sacrificer referred to the cutting up of the food offered to the god. I can only speculate as to the meaning of the word *moihu*, suggesting that it is *amo-i-hu*. *Amo* is, according to Tregear's dictionary, a common Polynesian term for carrying on the shoulder; it is so, according to Pratt's dictionary, in Samoa, and according to Baker's dic-

[1] Lawry, *F.F.I.* (1), p. 20. [2] Bastian, *I.O.* p. 33.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 34. [4] Reiter, *Anthrop.* vol. II, p. 747 *note* 1.
[5] Mariner, vol. II, vocabulary. [6] *Ibid.*

tionary in Tonga, though there it is spelt *haamo*. The letter *i* is an objective. *Hu*, in Tonga, means, according to Baker's dictionary, worship or sacrifice. It may be therefore that *moihu* meant the man who carried the sacrificial offering, and would possibly place it on the altar.

D'Urville tells us of the *lavaka*, a sort of dignitary, who seemed specially charged with all affairs relating "*au culte*," and without whose participation no act passed could be legal. He says that the title *lavaka* was a very old one[1] and it appears in Baker's dictionary as that of the chief of Bea, a district at the western side of the inland sea of Tongatabu. The importance of this person is illustrated by the fact that his place at the kava circle was directly next to the *tuikanokubolu*, who was at the head of it[2]. The word "Lavaka" was evidently the title of a family of chiefs, and not a definitive term. If this man was indeed an exalted functionary, charged with all matters relating to worship, I cannot identify his office with anything in Tonga which I have read unless, perhaps, he was the *taula eiki* or *taula eiki lahi* in d'Urville's time.

Mariner says that the habits of the priests were precisely the same as those of other persons of the same station; and when they were not inspired, the respect that was paid to them was only that which was due to their own rank. He recollected no chief that was a priest; and though Finau was sometimes inspired by Tali-y-Tubo [the patron of the *hau* and his family], who never inspired any one but the king, he was not on this account regarded as a priest, those only being considered as such who were frequently inspired by some particular god[3]. Generally the eldest son of a priest became, after his father's death, a priest of the god who had inspired his father. Mariner draws attention to the fact that in the Hawai'ian islands the priests seemed to be a distinct order or body of men, living for the most part together, holding occasional conferences, and at all times respected by the body of the people; whereas in the Tongan islands the priests lived indiscriminately with the rest of the people, were not respected on the score of their being priests, except when actually inspired, and held no known

[1] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 73. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Finau would not be a professional priest; but I think it would be as the natural priest of his family that he got inspiration from this god as the deity of the *hau* family. The *hau* of Tonga was the *tuikanokubolu*; but Finau was the head of a branch of the *Kanokubolu* family, and it was probably as such that he worshipped the god.

conferences together, as an allied body. If there was any difference between them and the rest of the people, it was that they were rather more given to reflection, and somewhat more taciturn, and probably greater observers of what was going forward[1]. They generally belonged to the lower order of chiefs, or that of the *matabule*, though sometimes great chiefs were visited by the gods, as in the case of Finau referred to above[2]. The favour of divine inspiration was seldom bestowed upon men of higher rank than the *matabule*[3]. According to d'Urville there were no priests, properly speaking, the only people venerated as such being men inspired by the god, among whom were included the chiefs[4]. The *Duff* missionaries did not find that the Tongans had priests, or any stated ceremonial worship; but possessed many superstitious notions about spirits[5]. They saw no person who seemed more religious than another, or anything that could lead them to suppose that there was any such character as a priest among them; in all offerings presented each man killed and proffered his own sacrifice[6].

Mariner, in enumerating the principal gods of Tonga, gives us amongst other things, the following information. Tali-y-Tubo, the patron god of the *hau* (whoever might for the time being hold the office) and his family, had four houses dedicated to him, but no priest, unless it was the *hau* [Mariner means Finau] himself, who was sometimes inspired. Tui foa Bulotu, a deity specially, apparently, invoked by the heads of great families, had several houses and several priests, whom he inspired occasionally. Hikuleo, to whom I have referred in a previous chapter (the god of the dead), had neither priest nor house; but it was said he was never supposed to come to Tonga. Tubo Toty, the patron of Finau's family and the god of voyages, who in his first quality was often invoked by Finau, and in the second by chiefs, had several houses, and one, or perhaps several priests. Ala'i Valu, another patron of Finau's family, and often consulted on behalf of sick persons, had a house, and at least one priest. Alo-alo, the god of weather, harvest and vegetation, generally invoked about once a month, if the weather was seasonable, and every day when it was bad, and annually when the yams were fully grown, had two houses, at each of which there was a priest. Tui Bulotu, a god of the

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 128 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 87.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 125.
[4] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, pp. 83 *sq.*
[5] Wilson, p. 252.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 272.

sea and voyages, had three houses, and perhaps two or three priests. Tangaroa, in Tonga the god of artificers and arts, had several priests, all carpenters, and may have had a house[1]. Mariner says the gods who had priests were invoked through them, but those who had not were invoked by *matabule*[2].

I think that in the face of the evidence of other writers, including the particulars just given as to certain gods and their priests, we must reject the suggestions by d'Urville and the *Duff* missionaries as to the absence of professional priests; perhaps they were misled by the absence of any marked co-operation between the priests, and their similarity, when not inspired, to other people, to which Mariner refers.

West says that the office of the priests was hereditary, and that their power was second only to that of the chiefs, they exercising powerful influence even over warrior chiefs. They took their rank from their gods and chiefs, the worship of the former determining in a great measure the popularity of the latter[3]. According to Mariner, the veneration offered to a priest depended upon the rank of the god that inspired him. He says that a priest, when inspired, commanded the reverence of the whole people; if the king happened to be present he retired to a respectful distance and showed his deference by sitting down among the body of the spectators. Even the *tuitonga* and Viachi would do the same, because at that time the god himself existed in the person of the priest[4]. An inspired priest, even if only a *mua*, would preside at a kava ceremony, whilst the greatest chief present would go to the exterior of the circle[5], which, I may say, means that he placed himself at the least honourable place in the circle. Bays refers to a chief who was formerly one of Tonga's principal priests, and who had so much authority, that, whatever he demanded of any of the people, none dared to refuse[6].

According to Mariner, persons who were not priests, particularly females, were often visited by the gods. They were usually low spirited and thoughtful, and as the symptoms increased they generally shed a profusion of tears, and sometimes swooned away for a few minutes. The height of the

[1] Mariner, vol. II, pp. 104–8.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 290. I point out, with reference to Mariner's statement, that some of these gods had no priests, that they may have had priests in the island of Tongatabu; but that Mariner would not be aware of this.

[3] West, p. 257.

[4] Mariner, vol. II, p. 87.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 166.

[6] Bays, p. 110; cf. p. 118.

paroxysm lasted as a rule from a quarter to half an hour; but they did not go through the violent convulsions, etc., which afflicted an inspired priest[1]. I gather from some further particulars which Mariner gives as to these cases[2] that the cause of the divine visitation in them was something relating to the person visited, and not to the people generally.

References by writers show that there were priestesses in Tonga[3].

SOCIETY ISLANDS

The available information as to the classification of the priests of the Society Islands is somewhat confusing and difficult to piece together.

Moerenhout says that in each district (apparently in Tahiti) there was only one *faaoua pouré*, or high priest (*souverain sacrificateur*), charged with presiding over important ceremonies and on solemn occasions and offering human victims to the gods[4]; and he then says that there were connected with the national temples, besides the high priest, the following: (1) an *amoi toa* (guardian of images); (2) a *pouré* (subordinate priest); and (3) a certain number of *opou noui* (people employed in the keeping up, etc., of the temple, dressing the altars, burying the remains of victims, etc.)[5]. G. Forster, not, apparently, referring specially to any particular sort of temple, speaks of a *tahowa-rahai*, or high priest[6]; and tells us that Cook's party met three men, who were said to be *te-apoo-nee*, and who were *tata-no-t-eatooa*, men belonging to the divinity and to the *marae*[7]. J. R. Forster gives the sole term of *tahouwa* as meaning a priest[8]. In the account given by the *Duff* missionaries we are told that the priesthood was divided into two orders; the *tahowra morai*, who officiated in all the prayers and oblations made in the *morai*, and the *tahowra eatooa*, who "affected" inspiration[9]. The Spaniards of 1772 apply the term *puri* to all priests, and commenting on this, Corney suggests that *tahua pure* (skilled person versed in prayer) would be more correct[10]. Tyerman and Bennet refer to the priest who had to carry the image of the god Tane at the great temple in Huahine as *te-amo-atua*[11]. Ellis says the priests of the national temple were

[1] Mariner, vol. I, pp. 102 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 103 *sq.*
[3] West, p. 364. Rowe, pp. 77, 79. Thomson, *D.P.M.* pp. 346 *sqq.*
[4] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 477.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 478.
[6] Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 153.
[7] *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 272 *sq.*
[8] Forster, *Obs.* p. 545.
[9] Wilson, pp. 336 *sq.*
[10] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. I, pp. 335, 537.
[11] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 279.

a distinct class; but he does not classify them in any way, and gives no Tahitian names except that he tells us the king was sometimes the high priest of the nation, and the highest sacerdotal dignity was often possessed by some member of the reigning family, and that the priests of the family gods were the fathers of the families[1]. According to du Petit Thouars, the priests were called *orometua*[2]; and both he and the French missionaries say that this term was applied to the missionaries[3], who would no doubt be regarded as priests.

I shall, in considering this material, avail myself, as regards some of the terms, of suggestions as to their possible meaning which I obtained some years ago from Mr Sidney H. Ray, made, as he told me, in the absence of any Tahitian dictionary to which he could refer.

Pouré (Moerenhout) and *puri* (Spaniards) are evidently *pure* which in Tahiti meant, according to Tregear's dictionary "prayer," "worship," "to pray," and so would be used descriptively for a priest.

Tahowa (G. Forster), *tahouwa* (J. R. Forster) and *tahowra* (*Duff* missionaries) are all, I think, intended for *tahua*, the Tahitian equivalent of the Maori *tohunga*, used for a skilled person, including a priest.

I may say, as regards these two terms (*pure* and *tahua*), that their meaning is further illustrated by the fuller word *tahuapure* given in Davies's dictionary as meaning a priest officiating at the *marae*; he would be a person skilled in prayer.

Faaoua pouré (Moerenhout). The term *faaoua* is difficult to interpret, as it offers several possibilities. I draw attention, however, to the Maori *whaka*, which is a causative prefix. The Tongan form is *faka*, and that of Samoa is *fa'a*. The *wh* of New Zealand, may, according to Tregear, be either *h* or *f* in Tahiti and the *k* is wanting, and apparently the Tahitian form of *whaka* might be either *ha'a* or *fa'a*, the two terms being used indiscriminately (see Tregear's dictionary, p. 606). I suggest therefore, as a possibility, that *faaoua pouré* was a *faa pure*, and meant a maker or causer of prayer, that is, a person who engaged or caused other persons to engage in prayers; it might well be a term applied to a high priest, which is the meaning that Moerenhout gives to it.

Amoi toa (Moerenhout) and *te-amo-atua* (T. and B.). Ray

[1] Ellis, vol. I, p. 342. [2] Du Petit Thouars, vol. II, p. 411.
[3] *Ibid. A.P.F.* vol. X, p. 211.

suggested that the former term (I had not submitted the latter to him) was perhaps *amo i atua*, *amo* meaning to carry, and *i* implying the objective case. I have already referred to the word *amo* in connection with Tongan terminology, and I see from Tregear's dictionary that it was used in Tahiti. I think Ray's suggestion is probably correct, and that both terms referred to the man who carried the image of the god, and who would probably be the person who took care of it.

Opou noui (Moerenhout). This should, I think, be *opu nui* and means literally "big belly," but I cannot understand why it should be applied specially to the persons employed for the purposes to which Moerenhout refers.

Tahowa rahai (Forster) is, I presume, *tahua rahi*, a great priest. *Rahi* means great.

Te-apoo-nee (Forster). Ray said that *te apu nei* meant "this assembly"; but I do not know why this term should be applied specially to people belonging to the god and his *marae*.

Tata-no-t-eatooa (Forster). Ray's interpretation of this was *taata* (person, people), *no* (belonging to), *te* (the), *atua* (god), and there can, I think, be no doubt this is correct.

Tahowra morai and *tahowra eatooa* (*Duff*), presumably meant skilled persons (priests) of the *marae* and of the *atua* respectively.

I will now try to classify the priesthood on the basis of the actual evidence and the suggested explanations of its terminology.

Faa a pure and *tahua rahi* meant a high priest.

Tahua and *pure* were general terms for priests, the former meaning persons skilled (in prayer) and the latter meaning prayer, and so being applied descriptively to the persons engaged in it.

Amo i atua were the keepers of the images of the gods, and carried them when necessary.

Tahua marae and *tahua atua* were perhaps general descriptive terms, of which the former may possibly have been applied to priests who officiated at ceremonies, and the latter to those who received direct inspiration from the gods.

Taata no te atua may have been merely a general descriptive term applied to priests; at all events I cannot connect it with any specific ranks or duties.

Opu-nui was probably a term applied to the persons engaged in the duties to which Moerenhout refers, but I cannot suggest why they were so called. Perhaps *te apu nei* was the same.

Orometua. I did not submit this term to Mr Ray. *Koro* had in New Zealand, according to Tregear's dictionary, as one of its meanings, "a person," "a man"; and *matua*, or *metua*, or *motua* had a general meaning throughout Polynesia of a parent or old person. I am not aware that *oro*, the equivalent of *koro*, was used in Tahiti for "a person," but Tregear refers to a Samoan word *olomatua* (an old woman) and the Tahitian word *orometua* (an instructor). It seems pretty clear that the primary meaning of the term was "an old person," and that its application to a priest, and to an instructor (who would generally be a priest) was derivative. I may say that the same term was used in Tahiti for certain spirits of the dead, who were objects of worship, and who would, as a general class, be regarded as elders.

According to Cook, there were priests of every class, and they officiated only among that class to which they belonged; a priest of the inferior class was never called upon by those of superior rank, and *vice versa*[1]. So also the *Duff* missionaries mention priests who superintended the lower orders of the people[2]; and de Bovis tells us that a *manahune* could become a priest, but he preserved a position proportionately inferior, although at certain times it raised him much above, not only his own class, but even above the class immediately superior[3]. Presumably he would only be a priest to his own class, and his temporary prestige would only, I imagine, be recognized on occasions of special manifestation (contortions, etc.) of his inspiration, being possessed by a god. J. R. Forster says, they appointed certain persons for the peculiar performance of prayers, rites and ceremonies. Each chief or king of an island chose from among the inferior chiefs an intelligent person, to be his *tahua* or priest to perform these duties; so also each chief of a province had likewise a priest, and the inferior ranks of the people had in the same manner peculiar priests, who could not perform rites and offer up prayers for men of a higher class[4]. So also Ellis says that the father was the priest of the family; the priest of a village or district was a chief, and his family was sacred; and the priests of a national temple were a distinct class[5]. Perhaps we may associate with all this the statement that people would refer to the *hui ari'i* and *hui ra'atira*, but never to the *hui tahua*[6],

[1] Cook, vol. I, p. 223.
[2] Wilson, p. 338.
[3] De Bovis, p. 244.
[4] Forster, *Obs.* pp. 545 *sq.*
[5] Ellis, vol. I, p. 342.
[6] De Bovis, pp. 243 *sq.*

hui being a collective prefix, referring in this case to a group of people of a certain rank—high or low—of society, and the priests not having been regarded as forming such a group in themselves.

Cook says the priestly office was hereditary[1]; and this is confirmed by Ellis, who says it was so in all departments of the priesthood[2]; by G. Forster, who says that a priest held his office for life[3]; by J. R. Forster, who says it descended from father to son[4]; and by Moerenhout, who says it was hereditary, "like that of every public function"[5]. De Bovis qualifies this. He says the priest was only an emanation of the power of the chief in what concerned the religious duties—simply a delegate. These functions quite naturally tended to become hereditary, because sons were instructed in their fathers' trades and professions; but it did not constitute a right generally recognized, for the authority of the priest was by law revocable according to the pleasure of the sovereign, and kings sometimes used this faculty[6]. I attach some interest to this qualification, for I suspect that the hereditary character of various skilled offices in Polynesia (*tohunga* and corresponding terms) arose from the custom for a father to instruct his son, and was not quite so strictly hereditary as writers would lead us to believe.

Moerenhout distinguishes between priests, inspired by the gods, who were sought after and venerated, and sorcerers, practising enchantments and witchcraft, who were avoided and feared[7]; but apparently, according to him, both priests and sorcerers engaged in what we should call sorcery[8]. Ellis, though he speaks of both priests and sorcerers, seems sometimes to use the two terms as though they were interchangeable[9].

Moerenhout also refers to certain persons, not of the priesthood, who were inspired permanently or periodically, and could at almost any time obtain inspiration, and make oracular statements as mouthpieces of the god, whose name they often took[10]. These people formed a kind of college or corporation in Tahiti, and had considerable power; and, although linked with the priests, they rather supplanted them in their functions as augurers in time of war. The influence of these inspired men

[1] Cook, vol. I, p. 222.
[2] Ellis, vol. I, p. 342.
[3] Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 154.
[4] Forster, *Obs.* p. 546.
[5] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 475.
[6] De Bovis, p. 239.
[7] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 480.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 481. Cf. Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, p. 33.
[9] See for example Ellis, vol. I, pp. 364 *sqq.*
[10] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 482.

over combatants was accentuated by the positive and vehement nature of their pronouncements, as compared with the vague and uncertain statements which followed the investigation by the priests of victims, their consultation of the heavens and their experiences of dreams. It was therefore one of these inspired lay-men who, speaking in the name of Oro, fixed days of battle, and received, as the god, the three first prisoners and other victims[1].

There was another body of Society Island officials, to whom Moerenhout draws attention; these were, he says, the *harepo* who, he says, were the special official depositories and preservers of the sacred traditions. The memory of these men was astonishing, and they could go on for whole nights, reciting these ancient traditions, word for word. On solemn occasions they would walk slowly at night-time round the temples and other sacred places, reciting all the time; and it was from this practice that they derived their name of *harepo*, or walkers in the night. If at any time they made a single mistake, or hesitated for a moment, they at once stopped, and returned home; and if their promenade had had as its aim some enterprise in which they wished to interest the gods, that single mistake sufficed to make them abandon the project, and not return to it; for success was no longer deemed possible[2]. Why a mere slip should produce such grave results is not quite clear; but they thought that memory was the gift of the gods, and though they studied the traditions night and day, they believed that they acquired their knowledge not by work, but by infusion[3]. I think, therefore, it may be that the idea of the slip was that the gods, being unfavourably disposed towards the matter proposed, indicated this by inducing a lapse of memory; or perhaps that the man was not then so closely in touch with the gods that the people could rely upon what he did. The office passed from father to son, the sons being trained for it from their earliest years; but only those who had very good memories were able to succeed. And here we perhaps see the idea of inheritance in the belief that no one could have the power unless he had inherited it from his father; for we are told that, when a *harepo* was dying, his last moments were carefully watched;

[1] *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 48 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 505 *sq.* In Samoa, if the priest stuttered over a single word in his prayer to the god Fe'e, prior to war, it was a bad omen (Turner, p. 28). We shall see directly that apparently the *harepo* were not the people who did these things.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 507.

and the instant he expired they put to his mouth the mouth of the child who was to succeed him, thus making the latter, as it were, inhale the powers of the dying at the moment when his soul was about to leave the body[1].

Moerenhout says that all the priesthood, wearers of some sacred emblem or sign, always obtained more or less veneration and respect; and everyone, even chiefs, bowed down, and dared not speak, when a priest, wearing such an emblem, passed by announcing some taboo, feast or ceremony[2]. The priests were regarded with fear and respect, as it was known that a word or sign that displeased them involved death, for not only did they announce the sacrifices exacted by the gods, but they were believed to be able to take away life at will, the gods avenging their offended ministers in this way[3]. According to Bougainville, they had the highest authority among the people[4]. Tyerman and Bennet say that the most valuable presents which the king (Pomare II) received from England had to be offered by him to the gods; they were reserved for great occasions, such as the beginning of war, when the royal treasuries were impoverished to enrich the *marae*, and the priests, as proxies, appropriated all the precious things to their own use, or distributed them among their dependants and patrons, thus maintaining their influence over every class of the community[5]. So also, referring to a famous priest of the island of Borabora, they say that he enjoyed great wealth in land, pigs, etc., and exercised a corresponding influence by power and terror, even kings and chiefs being in awe of him[6]. On the other hand, de Bovis says, as we have seen, that the priest was only an emanation of the power of the chief—simply a delegate—in what concerned the religious ceremonies; the king was a direct descendant of the god; the *marae* belonged to him and he occupied the place of honour there, the priest who officiated beside him admitting that the *marae* and image belonged to him[7]. De Bovis's statements may seem to be somewhat inconsistent with those of other writers so far as they apply to the relationship between a chief who owned a *marae* and his head priest of that *marae*, but I think the difference may be apparent rather than real. It is quite conceivable that a priest, being, as such, in frequent contact with the god, might have considerable religious power

[1] Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 507.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 478.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 475. Cf. Wilson, p. 336; Turnbull, p. 365.
[4] Bougainville, p. 255.
[5] Tyerman, vol. I, p. 134.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 517.
[7] De Bovis, p. 236.

over his chief; but I think that de Bovis points to what was the underlying principle of the conception of the relative positions of the king and the priest.

De Bovis gives an account, somewhat fuller than those already quoted, of the Tahitian priesthood. He says that the cult and personnel of the *marae* was composed of (1st) the master of the *marae*, in whose name and for whose benefit every ceremony was performed; (2nd) the high priest, and his assistant or assistants, who were simple priests; but the person officiating at a secondary *marae* was never a high priest; (3rd) the *orero*, preachers or rhapsodists; (4th) the *oripo* or *haerepo*, runners in the night; (5th) the porter-guardians of the idol; (6th) the demoniacs or sorcerers, whose part appeared to be to yield to all the irregularities which their name indicated, but who must have been in habitual connivance with the priests of the *marae*. He says the high priest played the most important part in all religious ceremonies. The king alone, the possessor of the *marae*, might be held to have a greater importance, but his rôle was purely passive, whilst the high priest, placed between the deity and him, had a very active rôle in all religious demonstrations; he was invested with an emblem [this was the white *maro*] which only the high priests of the most noble royal *marae* could wear. It was he who commanded the procedure of all the ceremonies, who regulated them, who pronounced the most important prayers, and who consecrated the kings. He had a very great influence proportionate to that of the reigning king. It was he who decided that the gods needed a human victim, and the king indicated the latter. It was he who suddenly ordered solemn prayers and who called the people to the *marae* on extraordinary occasions. He had a jurisdiction somewhat like that of a bishop. It extended over numerous *marae* built on the territories where his prince reigned; but this division was not necessary. This prince had sometimes two or several high priests in his domains; but the prince, although he was independent, had his *marae* served, on solemn occasions, by a grand priest who exercised the same functions for the neighbouring king[1]. The high priests belonged, almost without exception, to the highest princely families. The functions of the ordinary priests were similar to those of the

[1] De Bovis seems to use the terms king and prince as meaning the same thing. Where a priest served the *marae* of two neighbouring kings there is, I think, an assumption that they were related in some way, or if not so, would at all events worship the same god.

high priest, but they were subordinate to him, and could not replace him in certain matters, such as the consecration of kings. The *orero* had to have indefatigable lungs and a memory proof against anything. He was the living book of religion, tradition, sacred songs, politics, etc. He had to utter these before the *marae* amidst an immense crowd, without hesitating and with astonishing volubility. For this it was necessary to undergo a long education, and generally the *orero* had to be the son of an *orero* or priest, and his recitals had to be uttered in a certain manner. A *marae* had more than one *orero*, and he was more or less learned, according to the importance of the stage on which he had to perform. The *oripo* or *haerepo* were, in general, young people who were being brought up for the priesthood, and one day they would occupy a rank there in proportion to their skill, and, above all, their birth. In the *marae* they filled subordinate posts as assistants of the ordinary priests, and like them were placed under the orders of the high priest. But they had a special function which their name well describes; they were night runners; espionage of their district at night, and of enemies in time of war, were their most important functions. Their profession was considered to be very honourable, and has been followed by young men who later became kings; but some of them were settled in this career without any claim to ulterior advancement and held the office for life, or so much thereof as they were able to exercise it. The idol bearers were generally men of a class below that of the high priests and chiefs; but their contact with the god [that was, the image] rendered their persons sacred, and no one might do them any injury or touch their food. The general class of inspired persons, and sorcerers or demoniacs was not organized regularly—that is, it was not necessary for there to be a certain number of inspired persons for a *marae*. Sometimes there were many, at other times none. The god was supposed to select his man, and enter into his body; he manifested this by some marvel. The rumour spread, and the body of the man became sacred as an idol. Not only could he enter the *marae* and everywhere he pleased, but he even ascended the altar, and gave himself up to the diverse extravagances which the god who was in his body inspired him to commit. The sorcerer was not always in a state of inspiration. Sometimes the god abandoned him, and he became again in every way like an ordinary mortal. Sometimes the inspiration occurred through

a caprice of the god, who seized his man unawares. At other times he himself invoked the god by means of certain formulae, which afterwards became forgotten or unintelligible. These inspired persons enjoyed high consideration and their rank of blood did not matter. Besides the permanent sorcerers who were devoted for life to the whims of their deities, there was a class of sorcerers who confined their industry to certain miracles or *tours de force*, the principal of which was that of *pimato* or rock climbers, whose methods of climbing perpendicular rocks with smooth and shining surfaces are described[1].

De Bovis's term *oripo* or *haerepo* has been mentioned also only by Moerenhout, and *orero* by none of the other writers, so far as I have already quoted them, and there is an obvious discrepancy between de Bovis and Moerenhout. According to de Bovis, the *orero* were preachers or rhapsodists, the men with long memories and long education, who knew and had to repeat the religious beliefs, traditions, sacred songs, etc., at the *marae*, whilst the *haerepo* were generally young men, being brought up for the priesthood, filling subordinate posts in the *marae*, but having special duties of night running and espionage in the district. The duties attributed by Moerenhout to the *haerepo* were evidently those which, according to de Bovis, belonged to the *orero*; so there is a matter to be investigated.

G. Forster says there were a few men who preserved the national traditions, together with all their ideas of mythology and astronomy. They were the most learned of the people, and were called *tata-o-rerro*, which we would express by "teachers," and Cook's party met one of them—a chief[2]. Every district had one or two of these *tata-o-rerro*. They were skilled in theogony and cosmogony, and at certain times instructed the people in these things; they also preserved knowledge of geography, astronomy and division of time[3]. According to J. R. Forster, the science of physic and its various branches, those of geography, navigation and astronomy were known only to a few. These had acquired their knowledge either from their fathers or other teachers, and they again imparted it to others. They were called *tahata-orrero*, were very much respected, and commonly belonged to the tribe of the chiefs. They were professed teachers[4]. The London missionaries, in giving an account of the installation of Pomare II, say the

[1] De Bovis, pp. 279–83.
[2] Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 148.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 154 *sq.*
[4] Forster, *Obs.* pp. 528 *sq.*

taata orero, or public orator, opened the ceremony with a long speech, and invested Pomare with the regal cincture[1]. They say that all public business was transacted between persons called *taata-oraro*, or orators, and state that on the occasion of ratification of peace between Pomare I and Tu [Pomare II] their respective speakers were seated on the ground opposite each other, and there harangued upon the subject of their meeting[2]. According to Caillot, there were in the Society Islands *orero* or rhapsodists (not to be confused with the *haerepo* or night walkers) who played the part of human archives in a hereditary way, learning word by word the poems which they were to transmit with the same precision to following generations[3]. De Bovis quotes Moerenhout's statement that it was to the *harepo* [this is Moerenhout's method of spelling] that the sacred traditions were confided, to be recited by memory at need, and asserts that this was a mistake in name, leading to a confusion of functions, and thus to a wrong meaning. He says the *haerepo* or *oripo* was indeed a priest who ran in the night; but the *orero* was another man, another priest, to whose memory was confided the general depository of the liturgy of which he recited the passages at need[4].

Orero means in Tahiti "language," "speaking," "oratory," "an orator," and its equivalents have similar meanings elsewhere; and *ta'ata* is the equivalent of *tangata* which means a "man." In Davies's dictionary I find *orero* (an orator or public speaker) and *taata orero* (a herald, a crier, a public speaker). It is clear that these are the terms, variously spelt, used by the writers; and they are consistent with the functions attributed by Moerenhout to the *haerepo*, and by de Bovis, the Forsters and Caillot to the *orero* or *ta'ata orero*, except that these authors apply the term to what were apparently a specific class only of orators, who had to be specially learned, and, among other things, taught the people. There can, I think, be little doubt that Moerenhout has been mistaken in applying the term *haerepo* to these officials. I should in any case be inclined to follow de Bovis, rather than Moerenhout, where they differ; and I am still more led to do so here, in view of what we are told by other writers. I may add that de Bovis says that the *haerepo* and *orero* announced to the people the celebration of a ceremony in the *marae*, and that the latter in particular was

[1] Wilson, p. 320.
[2] L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. 1, p. 116.
[3] Caillot, *L.P.O.* p. 85.
[4] De Bovis, p. 270 *note*.

like an *iman* at the top of a minaret calling the faithful to prayer[1]. This may be the explanation of Moerenhout's apparent confusion between the two offices.

There are references to priestesses in the Society Islands. Williams speaks of a Tahitian priestess of the goddess Toimata[2]. Cook, in referring to a story of the conquest of Ra'iatea by Borabora, says that the men of Borabora were encouraged by a priestess, or rather prophetess, who foretold their success[3]; and Anderson says the king of Borabora never went to war without consulting her[4]. Bougainville speaks of a high priestess of Tahiti who was pledged to perpetual virginity, and had the highest consideration in the country[5]. The *Duff* missionaries say that in Tahiti, among the priests who superintended the lower orders of the people there were women who officiated, though not solely, for their own sex[6]. On the other hand, Cook says that in Tahiti women worshipped female *atua*, and men male *atua*; each had temples not free to the other sex, though there were temples common to both. Men were priests in both cases, but a priest officiating for one sex did not officiate for the other[7]. De Bovis also, writing at a much later date, says women were excluded from the priesthood and the *marae*[8] and were incapable of fulfilling any religious ceremony[9].

HERVEY ISLANDS

I have found no more minute differentiating classification of the priests of the Hervey Islands than that, applicable apparently to Mangaia, of *taunga*, or priests and *tangata pure-pure*, or sorcerers; the last name meaning "a man who prays," and this meaning being confined to a lower class of official by the limitation of the term *pure* to a prayer offered on minor occasions to the lesser gods[10]. The term *taunga* is the Hervey Island equivalent of *tohunga*, meaning a skilled person, which I have already discussed; *tangata* means "a man"; and *tangata purepure* means a praying man.

It was believed in Mangaia that the gods first spoke to men through the small land birds; but that their utterances were too indistinct to guide the actions of mankind; so an order of

[1] *Ibid.* p. 286.
[2] Williams, p. 187.
[3] Cook, vol. VI, p. 119.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 152.
[5] Bougainville, p. 474.
[6] Wilson, p. 338.
[7] Cook, vol. I, p. 222.
[8] De Bovis, p. 245.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 255.
[10] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 21.

priests was set apart for the purpose. It was thought that the gods actually took up their abode for the time being in these sacred persons; so they were often called *pia-atua*, or god-boxes, this being commonly abbreviated into *atua*[1].

The three principal orders of priesthood in Mangaia were those of the gods Motoro, Tane and Turanga, and of these the priests of Motoro always took the pre-eminence; Gill supplies lists, going back some way, of the priests of each of these gods[2].

The office of priest was hereditary in Mangaia, passing from father to son[3]—usually the eldest son, but, if he were unfit, then the youngest[4]. It is stated that in the case of a sorcerer the succession passed from father to son or from uncle to nephew, and as regards a sorceress from mother to daughter or from aunt to niece[5]; but I do not think we must assume that there was a difference in this respect between the cases of priests and sorcerers—it may be merely that as regards the latter we are told of the alternative in the event of there not being a child. I may say, as to this question of heredity, that Gill refers to the successive priests of Motoro as the descendants of the priest whose name appears at the head of his list[6].

The power of the priests of Mangaia is indicated by the statement that ordinary people were the slaves of their warrior chiefs, and the warrior chiefs the slaves of the priesthood. All people, except the priests, sucked the milk from a coconut through the natural aperture; but for a priest the opposite end had to be knocked off, so that he might quaff freely, thus symbolizing the doctrine that the power of life and death lay with him; this symbolism was based on the idea that the nut represented the human head, and was connected with the war oracle of splitting open the nuts of Rongo, all human life being at that god's disposal. It was an unpardonable offence to offer a nut to a priest without first splitting it open[7]. The priests of Motoro, in particular, are said to have ruled the island from the time of Rangi downward[8].

The reference above to the succession in the case of sorcerers indicates that there were sorceresses in Mangaia, but I have found no mention of priestesses.

We find in Mangaia an illustration of the association in the

[1] Gill, *Myths*, p. 35.
[2] Gill, *S.L.P.* pp. 227 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 227 *note* 2.
[4] Gill, *L.S.I.* pp. 46 *sq.*
[5] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 22.
[6] Gill, *Myths*, p. 27.
[7] *Ibid. L.S.I.* p. 350. Cf. Gill, *Myths*, p. 80.
[8] Gill, *Myths*, p. 36.

minds of the people of religion, or at all events supernatural powers, with skilled work. The peculiar way in which the people fastened their adzes was believed to have been originally taught them by the gods, and the skill required in using an adze was believed to emanate from the gods. Hence the stone blades of these implements were attached to their wooden hafts with sacred sinnet; the priests were the artisans who worked with adzes; and the three great orders of priesthood above mentioned were symbolized by the sacred triple axe, in which the god Tane-Mata-Ariki was supposed to be enshrined. Williams's mission labours seem to have been helped by the fact that he could not only preach, but could fell a tree, and build a vessel[1]. It was customary, when a canoe was being adzed, for the chief *taunga* to chant an extempore never-ending song, which the other workmen took up, and it was believed that this induced supernatural help in the work. This song was originally an address to the tree spirit not to be angry at the cutting down of the tree, with an invocation to the axe-fairy to aid the progress of the work[2].

It is possible that Gill intended us to understand that the distinction between *taunga* and *tangata purepure* applied to Rarotonga also, but, though I find references to the use there of the former term, I find no mention of the latter; there is in fact no specific information as to the priesthood of this island. There are three references to the appointment by Tangiia-nui, before his arrival at Rarotonga, of certain priests, whose names are given, these being much the same in the three accounts, though not quite identical. Among these names I find in all three accounts that of More—called in one of them More-makana-kura; and in one of them appears the name Maoate-atua. In all of them appears the name of Potiki-taua, the priest whom Tangiia was said, in the tradition told in a previous page, to have given to Karika[3]. The interest of these names arises from Savage's reference to a man More-taunga-o-te-tini, described as being perhaps one of the most learned and intelligent living Rarotongans, and who told Savage that he was descended from both More and Maoate-atua, both of whom are spoken of as having been high priests[4]. Savage's description of his informant justifies the belief that he also was a priest. Smith

[1] Gill, *Jottings*, p. 224.
[2] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 22.
[3] Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XVIII, p. 217; vol. XXVI, p. 59; Gill's papers, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 202.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. XIX, p. 142.

refers to a priest, Ariki-tara-are, as the last of the high priests of Rarotonga, whose family had borne that name for some twenty generations, and had always performed the ceremony of anointing and consecrating the *ariki* or ruling chief of Rarotonga at the sacred *marae* of Arai-te-tonga[1]. We therefore have examples of what seem to have been hereditary lines of high priests, tracing, or claiming to trace, ancient priestly ancestry.

MARQUESAS

Some of the available information as to the priesthood of the Marquesas is not quite clear, but I think the following is substantially correct. The *atua*, as their name implies, were gods; they were men who had been actually deified in their lifetime, and performed their sacred offices, not by virtue of professed inspiration or possession by some other supernatural being, but with their own powers as gods. They were believed to be able to control the elements, impart fruitfulness to the productions of the earth, or smite them with blasting and sterility, and to cause illness and death. Stewart says that they were few in number, not more than one or two in an island, and lived lives of mysticism and seclusion[2]. We have seen the statement that in Mangaia the priesthood generally were called *atua* as a contraction of *pia-atua*; but whether or not this is correct, it seems fairly clear that the *atua* of the Marquesas were actually regarded as gods.

Next to the *atua* came the *tau'a*, which term is identical, allowing for dialectic differentiation, with the *taula* of Samoa and Tonga, meaning an anchor or anchor stone. Stewart describes them as having been prophets or sorcerers[3]. He says they were a more numerous and tangible class than the *atua*, but seemed to be closely allied to them in office and reputation, for though they did not profess to be gods, they were supposed to possess an hereditary gift of inspiration and a power of causing a god to dwell within them, and sometimes usurped the dignity and name of *atua*; they seemed to be a combination of prophet and sorcerer[4]. It was believed that when they died they became gods[5]. Mathias describes them as having been the high priests,

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. VIII, p. 61.
[2] Stewart, vol. I, p. 244. Cf. Lesson, *Poly.* vol. II, p. 231; Mathias, p. 44; d'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 11.
[3] Stewart, vol. I, p. 266.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 245 *sq.*
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 247, 283.

who were inspired by, and interpreters of, the gods, whose power they would one day share[1], but that human sacrifice was requisite for their deification[2]; he says there should be one *tau'a* for each tribe (*peuplade*)[3]. Nothing, either political or religious, could be done without their consent, and the gravest questions of state had to be submitted to them[4]. D'Urville describes them as people who were inspired and became gods after death[5], and their apotheosis was always attended by human sacrifice[6]. Vincendon-Dumoulin says they were prophets or sorcerers[7]; they appeased the god when he was only moderately angry, but whilst by their intercession they could remove evil, they were also able by the same means to cause it[8]. According to Langsdorff, if anyone spoke ill of the *tau'a*, the latter learnt the fact at once through the spirits who served him, and a speedy death was the lot of the offender[9]. Radiguet describes them as being the high priests. He says they were almost all destined to become gods after death, were inspired by the gods when alive, and transmitted their decrees to the people. They also cured ills of soul and body, supposed to be the effect of divine wrath. A sort of mystery surrounded them, and the power they had of disposing of the taboo and of demanding human victims rendered them very terrible[10]. Tautain divides them into two categories, the one being real priests belonging to noble families, and the other, which was the more numerous, being inspired persons[11]. I do not gather from the context that he means that the first class was not also inspired; I think his distinction is simply one of social status.

The *tahuna*, or priests, came, according to Stewart, next after the *tau'a*. They were a more numerous, but less formidable class, and less presumptuous in their pretensions. Their offices were various, consisting mainly in offering sacrifices and performing religious ceremonies; in singing sacred songs, beating the drums of the temple, celebrating funeral rites and performing surgical operations[12]. D'Urville's description of them is practically the same, and he says they were recruited by probationership[13]. Vincendon-Dumoulin calls them priests, and places them next after the *tau'a*[14]. Mathias says they were a

[1] Mathias, p. 59. [2] *Ibid.* p. 45. [3] *Ibid.* p. 60. [4] *Ibid.* p. 59.
[5] D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 327. [6] D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. I, p. 503.
[7] *I.M.* p. 229. [8] *Ibid.* pp. 241 *sq.*
[9] Langsdorff, vol. I, p. 186. [10] Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 608.
[11] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VII, p. 447. [12] Stewart, vol. I, p. 247.
[13] D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. I, p. 504. [14] *I.M.* p. 227.

class of priests inferior to the high priest, and only sang[1]. Radiguet says their province was the material part of the sacrifices and other ceremonies, and that they beat the sacred drums and assisted the high priest[2]. According to Tautain, they were called *tuhuka* in the north-western islands and *tuhuna* in those to the south-east, and he points out that these terms were identical with the Maori *tohunga*[3]. I have already drawn attention to these dialectal differences in the group. He also identifies them as having been the second order of priests; he says they were charged with the recital on certain occasions of the religious or historical traditions, to chant over the dead and during the offices, etc., and compares them with the *orero* of Tahiti. They were recruited by initiation. In a general way the son of a *tuhuka* became a *tuhuka* himself; but often other young men who appeared to be intelligent and clever were initiated[4]. They also beat the big drums[5].

The *u'u* were the assistants of the priests, helping them in the conduct of ceremonies, and especially in the more laborious parts of the performance of human sacrifice. Admission to this office was only granted to men who had killed an enemy in battle with the short club or battle-axe—*u'u*—from which they derived their name; they had the privilege of feasting with the *taua* and *tahuna*[6].

The *moa* were, according to d'Urville, a class of men who offered sacrifice to the gods[7]. Tautain says they were the bearers of the images, looked after the victims on the *marae*, strangled them and prepared the heads, and were in a general way the assistants, and sometimes the messengers, of the priests. They always belonged to the last class of society and could not attain to priesthood; but their functions calling on them to handle the gods, to live in the sacred places, and to ascend the *marae*, conferred on them certain rights and immunities; their name of *moa* meant "sacred," "consecrated"[8]. The distinction between the *u'u* and the *moa* does not appear to be clear, and I am inclined, more especially as no one writer refers to both of them, to suspect that they were the same people, one of the terms by which they were designated referring to their requisite

[1] Mathias, p. 60.
[2] Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 668.
[3] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VII, p. 448 *note* 1.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 448.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. VIII, p. 668.
[6] Stewart, vol. I, p. 252. Cf. Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 230.
[7] D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 326.
[8] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VII, p. 448. Cf. vol. VIII, p. 668.

qualification, and the other to the taboo by which they were infected by virtue of their duties—especially perhaps through physical contact with the sacred images.

I have confined myself so far to information concerning the defined ranks of the priesthood, but there are a few more general observations to which I will draw attention. Shillibeer says that every "kingdom" [by which he probably means a valley or district] had a chief priest, and each of the divisions [no doubt of the "kingdom"] had a sub-priest. The priests were much respected, and even held in the greatest veneration[1]. According to Mathias, after the *tau'a* came the mass of inferior ministrants, ranked in different orders; for there were some who presided over the fishing; others over funeral ceremonies; others whose only office was to keep the altars and holy houses; and others who only sang[2]. It is clear from this that they had departmental priests, and apparently the duty of reciting the traditions and singing the sacred songs fell upon the *tahuna*, who were comparable in this respect with the *orero* of Tahiti, as explained by de Bovis. De Ginoux says the priests had communication with the gods in the night; it was they who were charged with transmitting to men the will of the gods, and they were obeyed to the letter. Whenever the high priest wanted something to be done, he went in the night to the mound at the bottom of the valley, and from there made howling noises. The next day he said that the gods had made such or such a command, and it was obeyed. If the high priest desired a human sacrifice, the people ran to watch for men of an enemy tribe, who were taken and eaten[3].

According to Stewart, the honours and powers of the human *atua* appear to have been hereditary sometimes, but not always so; that of the *tau'a* was hereditary; but that of the *tahuna* was not so, being conferred by the ordination of those already exercising the functions, who also took pains to initiate novices in the mysteries of their office[4]. Mathias, speaking apparently of priests generally, says that families always tried to make the priesthood hereditary, and the members of a family usually selected for the succession were those who were most favoured or deformed (*disgracié*) by nature. His explanation of this system of selection is, as regards the favoured ones, a desire to render homage to the deity and to physical beauty at the same

[1] Shillibeer, p. 39.
[2] Mathias, p. 60.
[3] De Ginoux, p. 374.
[4] Stewart, vol. I, pp. 245 *sqq.*

time, and as regards the others, a wish to compensate them for their physical deficiencies[1]. These explanations do not strike me as being very convincing; and as regards the latter, I would suggest, as a more likely possible reason, the idea that a deformed person would more probably be subject to possession by a god or spirit.

They had female *tau'a*[2]. They never entered the temples; but some of them, claiming divine inspiration, had little altars in their own houses; whilst others, having no power actually to invoke the gods, were able to predict events[3].

I have found no reference to sorcerers as a separate and distinct class; but we have seen that, according to Stewart, some, at all events, of the *tau'a* practised sorcery, and Langsdorff's statement as to what would be the fate of a man who spoke ill of one of them, and Vincendon-Dumoulin's reference to their power to cause ill are suggestive of this. Mathias refers to an act as performed by a priest or sorcerer[4] and Langsdorff says that sorcery was practised by both priests and "individuals"[5]. So also Krusenstern says the priests alone claimed the power of giving effect to charms[6]. Vincendon-Dumoulin speaks of *nati-kaha* as people who practised the witchcraft called *kaha*, who should, he thinks, be classed with the *tau'a*[7]; and Tautain refers to this as a deadly species of sorcery that was a specialty of the priests[8].

PAUMOTU

The terminology applied by writers to the different grades of priesthood in the Paumotu varies. Most of the information has, I think, been collected in Mangareva; but some of it has, I fancy, been collected elsewhere, and this may account partly for the differences.

According to Père Laval (a French missionary)

Tupua = Supreme priest.
Taura = Inferior priest[9].
Orometua = A general term (apparently) for priests[10].

[1] Mathias, pp. 60 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 61. Stewart, vol. I, p. 247. D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. I, p. 504. Jardin, p. 186. *A.P.F.* vol. XII, p. 92.
[3] Mathias, p. 61.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 229.
[5] Langsdorff, vol. I, p. 209; cf. p. 211.
[6] Krusenstern, vol. I, p. 173.
[7] *I.M.* p. 230.
[8] Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, pp. 668 *sq. note* 3.
[9] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 335.
[10] *Ibid.* vol. XI, p. 147.

Smith (quoting a dictionary prepared by the French missionaries) gives

Tahura-akaao = High priest.
Tahura = Priest[1].

Montiton gives the following:

Poure (praying) or *tahoura* (enlightened) = High priest.
Houhouki = Term used by him for a person who, at a turtle killing and eating ceremony, sat on the right hand side of the *ariki*, and was seen to put the wig on the *ariki's* head, and the staff in his hand.

He also gives separate names to a number of officials who performed different duties in connection with the ceremony; but the only one I need mention is

Toutouri = The person who sang[2].

Caillot speaks of

Tahura-tupa = High priest.
Tahura = Priest.
Rongorongo = Sacred chanters.
Hakarata = Sorcerers[3].

Seurat refers to

Kaunuku = Priest.
Huhuki = His assistants[4].

Audran uses the terms

Tahua = Chief priest[5].
Kaunuku = Chief priest[6].
Taura = Sorcerer[7].

Tregear refers to the word

Tahutahu = Sorcerer.

and compares it with the Hawai'ian *kahukahu* (to sacrifice) and the Tahitian *tahutahu* (a sorcerer)[8].

In attempting to find an explanation of some, at all events, of these terms I am compelled to adopt once again, what is, to me, the dangerous method of using a dictionary, and in doing so may very likely fall into errors.

Tupua. The word *tupu* and its linguistic equivalents have a general Polynesian meaning "to grow." An expression meaning the grown, or older person, was sometimes used in Polynesia

[1] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 121.
[2] Montiton, vol. VI, pp. 378 *sq.*
[3] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 156.
[4] Seurat, *L'Anthro.* vol. XVI, p. 477.
[5] Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 27.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. XXVIII, p. 234.
[7] *Ibid.* vol. XXVII, p. 34.
[8] Tregear, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 74.

by an inferior for a superior as a mark of respect, even though the latter might be younger in years. We have seen this in the use in Samoa of the term *Le Tupu* ("the grown") as the regal or highest title[1]. Tupua also was used in Samoa to designate a person over a certain age (see Pratt's dictionary). *Tupua*, or its equivalent, was also, according to Tregear's dictionary, used in some islands with meanings of which one implies "great," another "wisdom," another a "sorcerer," whilst another meaning was the ghost of a dead man (often associated with the idea of an old person). I think *tupua*, when used for a high priest, might be interpreted as meaning that he was presumed to be old in years or wisdom or both.

Taura is in Mangareva linguistically identical with the *taula* of Samoa and Tonga, meaning an anchor or anchor stone, and the *tau'a* of the Marquesas, and was, I expect, used with the same meaning.

Orometua. I have already discussed this term, as used for a priest, in Tahiti.

Tahura (Smith and Caillot) and *tahoura* (Montiton) are probably the same word. Montiton's translation of it into "enlightened" suggests that he regards it as the equivalent of the Maori *tohunga* (skilled); but if this is so, I must point out that the Paumotuan term would also be *tohunga*. It seems to me that the more probable explanation is that the term was identical with *taura*, the aspirate having perhaps arisen from the Polynesian habit of pronouncing each of the adjoining vowels. I do not know whether or not the Paumotuans did introduce aspirates in this way, but it might easily sound as though they did so.

Poure. Prayer, and apparently used sometimes for a person who prayed, has already been considered.

Tahura-tupa. The second part of this term may be a contraction of *tupua*.

Rongorongo. The word *rongo* and its equivalents were widely used in Polynesia for "sound," and—I suppose derivatively—"to hear"; and in Tahiti, according to Tregear's dictionary, it was used for the chanting of prayers in the *marae*. Probably *rongo-rongo* was used in the Paumotu as a descriptive term for the people who chanted.

Hakarata. The Maori *whaka* and its equivalents (I have referred already to the Samoan and Tahitian form *fa'a*) were

[1] Stair, pp. 65 *sqq*.

a Polynesian causative prefix, used for making or doing things, and the Paumotuan equivalents were (see Tregear's dictionary) *haka* and *faka*. *Rata* had a general meaning implying familiarity, and Tregear's dictionary gives a Mangarevan term *aka-rata* as meaning "to pretend inspiration," "to assume to be the mouthpiece of a deity," "a prophet," "a sorcerer," "a man possessed of an evil spirit." Perhaps the underlying idea was his alleged familiarity which the man acquired with the spirit.

Kaunuku. The word *kau* was, according to Tregear's dictionary, a general Polynesian term for "a troop of persons," and *nuku* had various meanings, including that of space. In Hawai'i it was used for "a raised place in the temple, where the god dwelt." Polynesian *marae* were sacred places, and with their frequent surroundings of trees, were in open spaces; and the term *marae* had a common meaning of an open space. It is just possible that *kaunuku* was applied to the people associated with the *marae* in its open space; but I admit that this is only a very doubtful guess.

Tahura akaao. The *akaao* may have been based on *haka* or *aka* as a causative. But *aka* and its equivalents had a widespread meaning in the islands, including the Paumotu, of a "root"; so possibly this term meant the main root of the priesthood.

I think that some of my suggested explanations may well be substantially correct, though some of them involve a good deal of speculative and perhaps inaccurate construction. I have not ventured to extend my efforts to all the terms. Probably two or more descriptive terms were sometimes used to designate the same office, and the distinction between one office and another would not always be exact.

I now propose to refer to a little information given to us as to some of these grades of the priesthood. I shall, for convenience, use English terminology, adopting in each case the English meaning of a Paumotuan term applied to it by the writer I am quoting.

The high priest of Mangareva was, according to Père Laval, the supreme head of the priests; from him the sacerdotal power emanated. To him alone belonged the right to deify the images, and to determine the cult allotted to each idol[1]. In the French missionaries' dictionary the chief priests are said to have been the only ones who exercised public functions, and they were

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 335.

taken from the royal family, or from those of the highest rank[1]; and in an account given of the ordination of some young priests, of whom one was the king's son, we find that the high priest actively conducted and, with his assistants, performed the whole of the prolonged ceremony[2]. Caillot, in referring to the various ceremonies performed by the priests, says the high priest presided over all of them[3]. Audran describes the chief priest as being a great person and very holy, enjoying the highest privileges. He was exempt from ordinary work; the smoke from the cooking ovens was not to touch him or come near him; the only authority superior to him was that of the king, while at times his influence was as powerful even as that of the king. Audran also refers to his omnipotence in regulating ceremonial matters[4].

Passing now to the general body of priests, Père Laval says there were a great many of these, and that each division had its priest or priestess. They saw to the carrying out of the sacred rites, and exercised the greatest influence over the people, and the king himself submitted to the yoke of their authority, and if he tried to shake it off, they threatened him with the anger of the gods[5]. Caillot is probably referring to the priesthood generally, including the high priest, when he speaks of the priests as not only teaching the people religion, but revealing to them future events. They were, with the kings and chiefs, the most powerful men of the tribes[6]. It was their office to organize the ceremonies of worship, invocations to the gods, songs in their honour, and sacrifices of different kinds[7]. According to the dictionary of the French missionaries, the ordinary priests were only present at the *marae* in attendance on the chief priest, who performed all public ceremonies, they themselves only acting in cases where some particular individual was concerned, and under the orders of the chief priest[8]; but they are apparently included in the statement, appearing in this dictionary, that the respect of the people for their priests was such that they came before the king[9]. Montiton tells us that the souls of the dead sometimes returned to earth, and, good genies or malevolent demons, instructed the priests and sorcerers in celestial and hidden things, protected them from

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 121.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 121 *sqq.*
[3] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 157.
[4] *J.P.S.* vol. XXVIII, p. 234.
[5] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 335.
[6] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 156.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 157.
[8] *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 121.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 124.

the snares of their enemies, or tortured and smote with sudden and mysterious death the persons marked for their vengeance and their witchcraft[1].

Caillot says that the *tahura* were the only true priests and it was they who organized the ceremonies of worship. The sorcerers were simply vile charlatans, belonging to the lowest class of society, prevented by the vulgarity of their birth from aspiring to the rank of true priests, but wishing to rise above the common people in order to enjoy honours and riches. They succeeded by force of observation, skill and cunning in persuading the people that they were more capable than the priests of interpreting dreams and injuring the collective personal enemies of the tribe or individual. They gained the favour of the masses by flattering their credulity, and so secured complete independence, even as regarded the priests, who, not wishing to attract the anger of the people to themselves, were forced to tolerate these sorcerers, and even to treat them in public with high consideration, while, among themselves, they regarded them with the utmost contempt[2].

They evidently had priestesses in the Paumotu. We have seen that Père Laval mentions this. He also speaks of a woman who had the gift of prophecy[3]; and Quiros tells us of an old woman who was, he thought, the guardian of the idols[4], though the grounds for this belief do not seem to have been very convincing.

NIUE

Smith says that in Niue the priests were called *taula-atua*, and that their principal function seems to have been to bewitch people; he refers to a term *eke-poa* (offering maker), "used in scriptures for priest"; but suggests that this was a modern word used to distinguish them [the missionaries?] and their office from the evil practices of the *taula-atua* of old[5]. Williams defines an *eke-poa* as a priest and *taula-atua* as a magician[6], which seems consistent with Smith's presumed suggestion. It will be noticed that both *taula* and *eke* [*eiki*] were Tongan terms. According to Thomson, a perfect understanding prevailed between the priests and petty chiefs—to their mutual advantage—for the chiefs could not afford to ignore the political influence of the priests, whilst the latter, knowing that a chief could invoke the god

[1] Montiton, vol. VI, p. 355.
[2] Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 156.
[3] *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, pp. 222–5.
[4] Quiros, vol. II, pp. 336 *sq.* Cf. vol. I, pp. 200 *sq.*
[5] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 197.
[6] Williams, *J.P.S.* vol. II, pp. 18, 68.

without their aid, realized that they were not indispensable. The priests took the offerings made to the gods as their perquisites. While they were in the frenzy of inspiration their voices were the voices of the gods, but at other times, though they had great influence, no special deference was due to their persons. Their office was hereditary[1]. Thomson refers to female priests[2].

ROTUMA

I have found no evidence that the *sou*, or sacred king, of Rotuma performed any religious ceremonies; but it is said that he was in no way under the priests of the different *atua*, and apparently had no connection with them[3]. Of these priests we know very little. Allen says the people were "devil worshippers," and had their *apeoiitu*, or priests, who were consulted by them in time of sickness, war, etc.[4] The priests were doctors, and their knowledge, held by families, was a mystery handed down with the office from father to son[5]. Apparently there were different priests for different gods, for we are told that the hammer-headed shark had a priest and a priestess; the priest, when inspired, was all powerful and told the people what they had to do, though when he recovered he was simply one of themselves again[6].

FOTUNA

According to Grézel, *vaka-atua*, which meant, I suppose, the canoe of the god, was the term for a priest or priestess[7]. Bourdin says that each family (*parenté*) had for itself alone a priest or priestess called *toe matua*, *i.e.* ministers of the gods or grandfathers[8].

UVEA

Mangeret divides the gods of Uvea into two classes: *first*, the superior gods—spirits without bodies, masters over the island—and, *second*, spirits of the dead, especially of chiefs[9]; and it is, perhaps, in the light of this distinction that we must construe the statements of the French missionaries that there were about sixty inspired priests and priestesses there, but that only those of the superior gods were much regarded, and that the men and women into whose bodies the souls of the

[1] Thomson, *S.I.* pp. 95 *sq.* Cf. Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, p. 140.
[2] Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, p. 140. [3] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 462.
[4] Allen, *A.A.A.S.* vol. vi, p. 578. The termination *-iitu* is, I expect, *-aitu*.
[5] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, pp. 468, 491. [6] *Ibid.* p. 468.
[7] Grézel, p. 296. [8] Bourdin, p. 443.
[9] Mangeret, vol. i, p. 154.

dead entered were called *taura* and *atua* [*?taura-atua*], priests and priestesses of the god[1]. The term *taura* is the equivalent of the Samoan and Tongan *taula*.

TOKELAU

Newell uses the term *vakatua*, apparently with a general meaning of priests of the Tokelau Islands[2]. Lister speaks of the term *taulaitu* as referring to priests chosen by the king and forming an upper class of society[3]. The probable meanings of both these terms are indicated by previous comments.

ELLICE ISLANDS

The general term for a priest in the Ellice Islands seems to have been *vakatua*[4]. In Graeffe's time there were about seven of them in Nanomea, and two chiefs and these priests ruled the people[5]. Sollas gives an account of the ceremonies prior to fish-catching in Funafuti, these being conducted by a priest, who, with his relations, seems to have secured much of the offerings to the gods. He also says that when a person was going to be ill the spirits gave warning to a priest, who would thereupon send for that person, take him to a charm house, and apply magical remedies[6]. According to Mrs David, the priest had more influence in Funafuti than the king because of his supposed supernatural powers. He was consulted about the weather, and as to the attitude, favourable or otherwise, of the spirits towards proposed camping out and fishing expeditions[7].

EASTER ISLAND

It is said that in Easter Island the priests were simply wizards and sorcerers, who professed to have influence with evil spirits, and to be able to secure by incantations their co-operation in the destruction of an enemy[8]; also that they uttered the wishes of the gods oracularly, and declared the divine requirements of human sacrifice, and subsistence by which they themselves lived[9]. I have referred in a previous

[1] *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 13.
[2] Newell, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 606.
[3] Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. XXI, p. 54.
[4] Newell, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 608. Sollas, *Nature* 1897, p. 354.
[5] Graeffe, *Ausland*, vol. XL, p. 1189.
[6] Sollas, *Nature* 1897, p. 354.
[7] Mrs David, p. 179.
[8] W. J. Thomson, p. 470.
[9] Palmer, *J.R.G.S.* vol. XL, p. 174.

chapter to the *rongo-rongo* men of Easter Island, whose duties seem to have been somewhat similar to those of the *rongo-rongo* men of the Paumotu.

MANAHIKI

Turner says that the king of Manahiki had a "high priest"[1], so perhaps there were minor priests also. Moss refers to the unbounded faith of the people in the operations of a ghost woman[2].

TIKOPIA

D'Urville refers to a high priest of the island of Tikopia, called *taoura-doua*, which should, I imagine, be spelt *taura-atua* or *tauratua*. He was the servant of the first chief, and had under him three priests, who made the same gestures as he did at ceremonies, but might not speak[3]. Rivers was told nothing of such office or offices, except as regards the story of the surrendering to a chief of "sacrificial" powers to which I have already referred[4].

[1] Turner, p. 278.
[2] Moss, p. 114.
[3] D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. v, p. 307.
[4] Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. i, p. 354.

CHAPTER XXVIII

COUNCIL MEETINGS

PRELIMINARY

IN considering the subject of council meetings we have to distinguish, so far as may be possible, between gatherings attended by a considerable number of people, and the smaller meetings, probably of a somewhat more private character, of chiefs and their more intimate advisers. I shall be able to explain where these meetings were held in Samoa, the evidence on the whole subject from this group being much fuller than that obtained in other parts of Polynesia. As regards other islands, or most of them, I must content myself for the present with saying that the meetings seem to have been held in or near to the *marae*, as any attempt to be more exact as to this matter must be postponed to a future date, when I hope to be able to consider the subject of the *marae* and burial places, and what I may perhaps call the public or semi-public structures and places, as a whole. I think that it will be found that in some of the islands a good deal may perhaps depend upon the question how much should be included in the term *marae*; for instance, in the case of a stone structure, with a stone pavement, must the term be confined to what is within the boundaries of that structure, or must it be regarded as including something outside it, the structure being the specially sacred part of the whole *marae*?

SAMOA

In Samoa and one or two of the other islands the term applied to a council meeting was *fono*. This word is linguistically identical with the Maori word *hono*, a term which appears from Tregear's dictionary to have been used widely in Polynesia with the meaning to "join together" or "unite," and other meanings apparently of a derivative character, and it is possible that the Samoan use of the word *fono* for a council meeting is based on the idea of the joining or gathering together of a number of people to discuss a matter which affects them all.

I will, before explaining the *fono* system of Samoa, refer to a few terms which, or some of which, will be mentioned, and the meanings of all of which should be understood for the purpose of following statements by writers as to the social and political systems of the group.

Tumua and *laumua* were terms applied to certain leading village districts of certain main divisions or districts, being in fact their political and governmental centres. I have already discussed these terms.

Faleupolu (the house of Upolu) was apparently, as we have seen, a term for the middle classes of Samoa, being used to distinguish this general body of landowners from the *tulafale* or orators, regarded as a superior official class. The term appears, according to Krämer and Schultz, to have been used also for the orators who took part in a *fono*, regarded as a collective body[1]. If this is correct, we may perhaps believe that the term was applied to these orators as representing their constituents, in whose name and on whose behalf they spoke. In Manu'a the name given to the council of orators was not *faleupolu*, but *tootoo* ["a staff"]—used, I gather, to signify the orator's staff or *taualuma*[2]. I shall refer again to this matter presently.

Terms commencing with *fale-* and ending with a numeral appear from time to time in Krämer's descriptions. These terms refer to certain groups of orator families—they might be either *tulafale ali'i* or *tulafale*—the official heads of which took the lead in the *fono* of the respective main divisions and districts, held at the governmental centres of those divisions and districts; and the number which followed the *fale-* referred to the number of the families constituting the group. Thus at Leulumoenga, in Aana, were the *faleiva* or House of Nine[3]; at Taụ in Manu'a were the *faletolu*, or House of Three[4]; at Lufilufi, in Atua, were the *faleono*, or House of Six[5]. Each district or village district had its orator houses, who were spoken of collectively in this way, and so referred to in the formal greetings offered to them at the *fono*.

Matua, or parent, or the eldest, was a term used for chiefs or orator chiefs whose council was specially considered in *fono* and private affairs[6].

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 11. Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 46.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 367. [3] *Ibid.* p. 149.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 368. [5] *Ibid.* p. 274. [6] *Ibid.* p. 480.

Tafa'i or *tu'itu'i* were attendants (called by Krämer "pillars"), of whom two sat on occasions of ceremony (including the *fono*), one on each side of what Krämer calls a "title" chief. The offices were confined to the possessors of the names [*i.e.* the heads] of certain families; they were chiefs, orator chiefs, or orators[1]. I cannot define what Krämer means by *title* chiefs. The term was clearly applicable to the head chiefs of the great divisions, but it is evident that others were included also; they were in fact the higher ranks of the chiefs. He gives the names of the pillars of the four titles required to secure the royal title of the *tafa'ifa*. Each of the chiefs holding these titles had two pillars; those of the *tuiaana* and the Ngatoaitele were orator chiefs; those of the *tuiatua* were chiefs; those of the Tamasoali'i were orators. The *tafa'ifa* (king of all Samoa) himself was attended by pillars representing each of the four village districts which controlled his four titles; Leulumoenga (representing the Aana title) and Lufilufi (Atua title) being on his left side, and Afenga (Ngatoaitele title) and Safata (Tamasoali'i title) on his right[2]. I gather that there was only one representative from each of these places—that is, that there were only four pillars attending upon the king; but am not certain as to this. It will be noticed that those on the king's left were the two more important of the four titles; I do not know whether the left-hand side was regarded as more honourable than the right; but we are told as regards Tonga that d'Entrecasteaux was made to sit on the left-hand side of the king, and that his people concluded that this was regarded as the place of honour[3].

Faletui, or chiefs' houses, were the councils of chiefs who gave advice, especially in matters of war, as distinguished from the *faleupolu*, or councils of orators. These people served as counsellors to the title chiefs in all matters pertaining to war[4]. The term *faletui*, meaning "the house of the chiefs," seems to have been a general one. In Aana they were called the *aloali'i*; and were spoken of as the *faleaana* [house of Aana]. They discussed matters with the *tuiaana*[5]. They were chiefs descended from *tuiaana* Ngalumalemana[6], whose name has already been mentioned. In Atua the *faletui* were spoken of as the *faleatua*; they also formed a sort of privy council, with whom the *tuiatua*

[1] *Ibid.* p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Labillardière, vol. II, p. 136.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 478.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 149. [6] *Ibid.* p. 477.

consulted; their meetings took place after midnight[1]. In Manu'a there was a body of men, called *anoalo*, composed of chiefs directly descended from past *tuimanu'a*[2]. These also formed a chiefs' council; for we are told that they were in Manu'a similar to the *aloali'i* of Aana[3].

I have explained the terms *alataua* and *ituau* in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," and *usoali'i* in that of the "Middle and Lower Classes."

I drew attention, in discussing the subject of social and local grouping, to what appears to have been the primarily social character of the grouping and political organization of Samoa, the tie that bound together the people in any one area, great or small, being in the main social in character. In connection with this matter I referred to statements by writers explaining what seems to have been the social relationship which, speaking broadly and generally, bound together the domestic families of a village, the villages of a village district, the village districts of a district, and the districts of a main division, and tabulated what is, I think, a substantially correct sketch of the system of what I called graduated social, local self-government, as displayed by the constitution of the *fono*. It is important that we should understand the general constitution of a *fono*, whether of a mere village or small village district or of a large district or division, the chief or other official head of the social group occupying the whole governmental area whose affairs were discussed at the *fono*, being, whether he personally took any part in the debates or not, the central figure and official president of the meeting, and the various speakers being the official heads of families, entitled as such to take part in its proceedings. I believe that the general basis of what I may call the parliamentary system of Samoa was both social and representative, each speaker addressing the meeting as the representative and on behalf of the social group of whom he was the official head, though there were some details of the system as to which, as I have indicated, we do not appear to have exact information.

There are a number of incidental statements by writers, besides those which I have quoted in discussing social grouping, which help to throw a little light upon the *fono* system. Pritchard speaks of the *tulafale*, or heads of families, who, as

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 271.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 391 *note* 6. [3] *Ibid.* p. 477.

such, were the chief's councillors[1]. Walpole says that each chief of a district had an orator, who was above all orators; each village again had one who acted as magistrate and adjudicated, though an appeal might be made to the *fono*; and each family generally had its orator, who arranged its disputes and pleaded its cause[2]. The chief's orator to whom Walpole refers would be his spokesman at a *fono*, the chiefs themselves usually remaining silent; the village magistrate would be the head of the social group that occupied the village, and would be the spokesman of that group at a *fono* of a larger group of which it formed part; the family orator would be its representative at any *fono* in whose proceedings the family was entitled to take part. Turner says that the heads of families were the orators and members of parliament[3]. According to Hübner, the heads of families alone exercised political rights; they were either chiefs (*ali'i*) or commoners (*tulefale*)[4]. Graeffe says land was in part common property, and in part family property, and the various heads of families or *tulafale* came to an agreement in their assemblies as to the portion of land to be cultivated by each[5]. According to Hale, the householders (*tulafale*) of a district were the recognized councillors of a chief, and he seldom took any important step without consulting them[6]. Pratt, in his dictionary, refers to the term *fatatainga* as meaning the chiefs and heads of families who composed the council[7]. Von Bülow tells us that the common people had neither a seat nor a voice in the consultations, only heads of families being chiefs and orators; the common people were subject to one of the heads of families, either a chief or an orator[8]. The assembly of a place was composed of the heads of families of the place, these being the chiefs (*ali'i*) and orators (*tulafale*)[9]. Schultz says that only the *matai* (heads of families) had part and voice in a village meeting, and all who did not take part in the government were called *tangata-nu'u* or *tangata-lau tele* (*i.e.* the people, the masses)[10]. Krämer says that the heads of families, chiefs and orators, had, besides their other work, to spend a good deal of time in administration and politics[11]. According to Ella, the council was open to all the leaders of the community for free discussion and deliberation

[1] Pritchard, p. 135.
[2] Walpole, vol. II, p. 355.
[3] Turner, p. 181.
[4] Hübner, vol. II, p. 359.
[5] Graeffe, *J.M.G.* vol. I, p. 23.
[6] Hale, p. 28.
[7] Pratt, p. 117.
[8] Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIV, p. 25.
[9] *Ibid. Globus*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 375.
[10] Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 45.
[11] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 89.

—to the *faipule* (chiefs and rulers) and *tulafale* (heads of families)[1].

I have indulged in what may appear to be a needless repetition of the statements of a number of writers on the same subject because I want to make it clear that only the official heads, whether chiefs or middle class people—the bearers of the family titles or names—of families or other social groups were entitled to take part in a *fono*. I believe that the recognition of the position, the rights, and the duties of these heads of social groups was a fundamental feature of the political, and to a large extent the social, organization of Samoa. Let us realize what the rule to which I am referring would involve at a *fono* of, say, a district. The head of a middle class family entitled to be represented, would, as such, have the right to attend and join in the discussions, whereas a man of high rank—even the son of the head chief of the district—if he was not the head of a social group, would have no such right, and would, as I understand the matter, have to content himself with being among the spectators standing outside the *fono* gathering—indeed this must have been so if he was in fact present.

Referring to von Bülow's use of the words "common people," I draw attention to my statement in tabulated form (see chapter on "Social and Local Grouping") of what I believe to have been the basis of the *fono* system of Samoa. According to this, the authorized speakers at a big *fono* of a main division or district would be the heads of relatively important families or social groups, whilst those at the *fono* of a small unimportant village would be or include the heads of relatively small and unimportant families. I do not think we can define with exactitude the point in the descent from a big *fono* to a small local *fono* at which the authorized speakers might be regarded as being what von Bülow calls "common," especially as I do not believe that the distinctions between the respective descending social grades of the people were either clear or definite.

I will now describe the proceedings at a *fono* by which I mean for the present the larger *fono*, and not the smaller consultations of chiefs, of which I shall speak later on.

Each Samoan village had its *fono*, and there was a *fono* for each village district and district, for each of the three great

[1] Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 632.

divisions of Upolu and for each of the other islands, and for the whole of Samoa[1], the latter excluding Manu'a. Village orators discussed village matters, and district orators district matters[2]. In using the term "village" I may sometimes be referring to what I have been calling a "village district."

A village *fono* appears to have been a comparatively simple performance. Its members were the chief of the village and the heads of families, one of whom was a sort of prime minister to the chief[3]. It was this prime minister's business to call a meeting to discuss matters; it was also his province to send notice to the other heads of families on the arrival of a party of strangers, and to say what each was to provide towards entertaining the village guests. All affairs of the village came before this body, and from its decision there was no appeal. No recognized principle of procedure was observed at its meetings[4]. If two families of a village quarrelled, and wished to fight, the members of the village council stepped in and forbad it; and it was dangerous for either party to try to continue the strife after this[5]. The *fono* was, apparently, held inside the *faletele*, the assembly and guest house, and not on the open *marae*, or village green[6]; but sometimes in the house of the chief or an orator[7]. Silence was required; no woman or child was allowed to be there, and the young men, though allowed to sit before the house, might not enter it. The proceedings commenced with the offering of thanks to the village god; after which the business of the meeting began. Directions were given to the people of the village on such matters as the laying out of plantations, and the planting of kava, taro, yams, bananas, coconuts, etc., looking after pigs, fowls, etc., and, perhaps the building of a canoe; a taboo was placed upon fowls, pigs, coconuts or other articles of diet which, for some reason, such as a prospective feast, were required, and so must not be eaten; the village laws were repeated: Do not steal; do not lie; do not murder; do not be greedy or covetous or remove landmarks, etc.; speeches were made inculcating the importance of following the laws, and declaring the intention of

[1] See Stair, p. 84. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 18. Brown, p. 431.
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 482. [3] Turner, p. 177. Hale, p. 29.
[4] Turner, pp. 177 *sq.* Stair, p. 84. Brown, p. 288. Hale, p. 29.
[5] Turner, p. 180.
[6] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 40. Erskine, p. 73. Walpole, vol. II, p. 355. The Samoan spelling of *marae* is *malae* but I am, for convenience, adopting the former spelling for all Polynesia. [7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 478.

doing so, and punishments were fixed for non-observance of any of the orders of the council or of the laws[1]. The *fono* was also a court of village justice, and the court of appeal in all matters of difficulty[2]. The business of the meeting being concluded, the kava was drunk, and the young men were ordered to bring in food, such as pig, taro, etc.—individual members of the *fono*, apparently, directing the fetching of food which they had provided for the purpose—and this, by order of the man presiding over the meeting, was divided; some would be given to the priest, some to the guests, and the rest divided among the people present, both inside and outside the house. The meal being finished, one of the members of the *fono* would make a speech to those outside, announcing the conclusions of the assembly, and adjuring them to attend to what had been said; after which the *fono* was at an end and the people separated. Apparently, however, a number of the speakers used often to remain, and have a sort of "after *fono*"[3].

A great *fono*, that is the *fono* of a large or important district or a division, or of all Samoa, was a much more important and ceremonious affair. It was held for the discussion of weighty matters affecting the whole district or area which it represented, dealing, among other things, with the appointment and installation of chiefs, and the declaring of war and making of peace[4]; but matters of peace and war were, as we shall see, dealt with in the first instance by a differently constituted *fono*[5]. There were of course *fono* of districts, relatively unimportant, the proceedings at which would be similar in character to those of what I am calling great *fono*, but on a smaller scale.

A great *fono* was held in, and in front of, the *faletele*, or great house, those engaged in it spreading out over the *marae*, or village green, of the leading village district of the district—what Stair calls the *laumua*[6], though I think the terms *tumua* and, in the case of Tuamasanga, *laumua* were, properly speaking, only applied to the governmental centres of Aana, Atua, and Tuamasanga. The *fono* of the Aana division of Upolu was held at its *tumua* village district, Leulumoenga[7]; as also was a *fono* of all Samoa[8]. The *fono* of the Atua division was held at

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 40 *sq.* [2] Turner, pp. 177 *sq.*
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 40 *sq.*
[4] Stair, p. 84. Cf. Wilkes, vol. II, p. 153.
[5] See Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 149, 478.
[6] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 478. Stair, p. 84.
[7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 149, 150. [8] *Ibid.* p. 18.

its *tumua* village district of Lufilufi[1]. In the Tuamasanga division an ordinary *fono* was held in the *laumua* village district of Afenga. The *fono* of the Manu'a group (which, as I have already stated, was politically separate from the others, and so was not concerned in a *fono* for "all Samoa") was held in the village district of Tau, in the island of Tau[2]. In all cases the decision to hold a *fono*, and the duty of summoning it, rested with the leading village district in which it was to be held[3].

The messengers sent to the other village districts to summon their representatives to the *fono*, were *tulafale*, and even powerful *tulafale ali'i* shared in the performance of this duty[4]. The inclusion of such important people suggests that they were not regarded as mere carriers of messages; and Stair says that they usually gave information as to what was to form the chief topic of discussion, so that each village district could deliberate upon it beforehand, and so send their representatives fully prepared; indeed sometimes, when the leading village district summoning the *fono* was apprehensive of not being able to carry its point, some of its principal men went about in a body from place to place, and discussed the matter with the various village districts[5]. Churchward, in explaining this practice, says that the headmen supporting a new scheme would visit any important family or section of the community who refused to join or wavered, and whose assistance was of some importance, and, sitting down in the dust and sun in front of their principal house, would undergo every kind of humiliation known to Samoa; they would sometimes do this for days, until at last they got some sort of promise of support[6]. In the case of a *fono* of most of the big divisions of Samoa there was a system of sending the messages only to certain village districts, whence presumably they were transmitted to the others. Thus in the case of Atua the message was sent by the government village district of Lufilufi to Saleaaumua[7]; in Tuamasanga it seems to have been sent to six village districts[8]; in Manu'a, where the seat of government was Tau, in the island of Tau, it was sent to Fitiuta in the island of Tau and to the islands of Ofu and

[1] *Ibid.* p. 270.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 374.
[3] Stair, p. 84. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 18, 149 *sq.*, 270, 374.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 149 *note*, 150, 223, 374. Cf. von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 374.
[5] Stair, p. 88. Cf. Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 46.
[6] Churchward, p. 118.
[7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 270 *note*.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 223.

Olosenga[1]; but in Aana there was a customary privilege entitling each village district to have the message sent direct from the leading village district[2]. There are some references by Stuebel to the methods of summoning people to *fono* in certain specific districts, and to the individuals who decided that it should be done and summoned them[3]; but I do not propose to detail these here.

We have seen that the persons entitled to take part in the proceedings at a *fono* were *ali'i* (chiefs) and *tulafale* (orators), these being in fact heads of families. Stair, whilst stating that the *tulafale* were the principal speakers at a *fono* of a district, where weighty matters were discussed (as distinguished from a local *fono* of a mere village district), and explaining that there were always a certain number of families in a settlement [my village district], who alone were permitted to speak at the *fono*, includes the *fale-upolu* among the possible speakers[4], and Brown does so also[5]. There seems to be some confusion as to the meaning of the term *fale-upolu*, but I think, after comparing the statements of Stair, Brown and Pratt, quoted in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes" and Stair's further statement quoted here, that the following is the probable explanation of the matter. *Fale-upolu* was a comprehensive term for the general body of the middle classes, between the *ali'i* class and the lower classes. Every family would have its official head, the heads of the nobility being the *ali'i* or chiefs. The middle class families ranged in importance from small domestic households to relatively large consanguine families, and the heads of these were their official speakers at *fono*. In the case of a small unimportant family, its head was regarded as a member of the general class of the *fale-upolu*, and he was the official speaker on behalf of the family at a small local *fono*. The *tulafale*, on the other hand, were the heads of the larger, or more important middle class families, and were the recognized orators at a larger and more important *fono*; and so were regarded as a prominent official body, though a *fale-upolu* head was sometimes also allowed to speak at these *fono*. Probably the line of demarcation was not always definitely fixed, and the distinction may often have been more or less elastic. Hence we have Brown's use of the term "nominally"

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 374.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 149.
[3] Stuebel, pp. 104 *sq.*, 108–12, 126.
[4] Stair, pp. 84 *sq.*; cf. p. 74.
[5] Brown, p. 432.

in distinguishing between the *fale-upolu* and the *tulafale* as classes.

The use of the term *fale-upolu* to designate also the collective body of orators taking part in a *fono* is peculiar; but I think the explanation of this which I have suggested in a previous page of this chapter is perhaps correct; the *tulafale* were the representatives of their own middle class family groups, and they would be the mouthpieces, not only of those groups, but of the minor groups into which they were subdivided, and so would in effect speak for all the people within the groups. The *fale-upolu* were the general body of the people, as distinguished from the chiefs; and at *fono* the term was applied to the representatives who spoke on their behalf. Upolu was the principal island of the group, and the *fono* of all Samoa was held in it.

We have seen Walpole's reference to the employment by the chief of the district of an orator. Turner says that kings and chiefs rarely spoke[1]. Stair says chiefs did so occasionally[2]. Brown says they rarely did so, it being considered more dignified to remain comparatively silent[3]. According to Churchward, the talking men of the various districts always spoke for their chief, who, according to severe Samoan custom, "now rapidly dying out," was supposed never to injure his dignity by speaking for himself[4]. Other writers refer to the same custom[5].

These customs as to the persons who spoke at a *fono*, and as to the silence of the chiefs, would, I imagine, be followed in principle at small village *fono*, such as I have already described. I do not doubt that only heads of families would speak, but I would point out, as regards chiefs, that the head of the social group occupying a village, and perhaps a village district, would often be only a *tulafale*.

The great *fono* was held in the open air on the *marae*, or village green[6], which stretched in front of the great chief's house, and indeed generally had several houses of superior chiefs and orator chiefs around it[7]; but as a few of the more important people were in or by a building, it is necessary that I should say something about its form and construction. This building, the *faletele*, or great house, used for council meetings,

[1] Turner, p. 181. Cf. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 348. [2] Stair, p. 84.
[3] Brown, p. 432. [4] Churchward, p. 25.
[5] Stevenson, *Footnote*, p. 4. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 10. Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 46. Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIV, p. 25. Friedländer, *Z.f.E.* vol. XXXI, p. 50. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 632.
[6] Turner, p. 181. Stair, p. 84. [7] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 479.

hospitality and certain ceremonies, was distinct from the chiefs' sleeping houses, and as I understand the matter, there would be only one *faletele* on any one *marae*; Krämer says that only chiefs of importance had a *faletele*[1]. In Manu'a the name given, at all events to the *faletele* at Tau of the *tuimanu'a*, was *faleula*[2].

Krämer's description of a *faletele* is accompanied by illustrations, so I have to adopt my own method of trying to make the matter clear without them. The *faletele* was an oblong building with rounded ends; its thatched roof sloped down over its two sides from a longitudinal ridge pole; but at the rounded ends of the building the roof, instead of presenting gables, sloped downwards to its semicircular base lines like the roof of an apse. It seems that the building was oriented, for Krämer distinguishes between the two rounded ends as being the eastern and western parts of the building; and, according to his ground plan, what was regarded as the front of the building—that is, the side facing the village road passing through the *marae*—was the northern side[3]. The centre of the longitudinal ridge pole of the roof was supported by three wooden pillars placed near one another in a line corresponding to that of the ridge pole, and the lower edge of the roof was supported all round the building at its edges by shorter posts. The spaces between these posts were not filled up, so the building was structurally open all round; but mats were used for closing those spaces where desired. The space under the central part of the roof—that is the portion other than the semicircular ends—was called *'o le itu*, and was divided into two portions, separated from each other by the three pillars supporting the ridge pole. The northern portion between the three central pillars and the road was called *itu i luma* (front side), the southern portion, behind the three central pillars, was called *itu i tua* (back side). The rounded ends were called *tala*. What Krämer calls the throne of mats of the title chief (*Titelhäuptling*), by which he evidently means the principal chief, the official owner of the *falatele*, holding the title of the titular family, was near the edge of the interior of the building, in the centre of the curve of its eastern *tala* or rounded end, and immediately in front of its most easterly outer post; it was on

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 478.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 378. Cf. Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXVI, p. 300.
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 241.

this throne that the principal chief sat, facing the centre of the building, that is, facing west[1]. Stevenson is evidently referring to this custom when, in speaking of a kava drinking at a great function, at which he was present, held inside the *faletele*, he says "one side of the house is set apart for the king alone; we were allowed there as his guests, and Henry as our interpreter"[2]. Krämer says elsewhere that the king sat almost alone in the centre of the round part of the house[3]. His two *tu'itu'i*, or attendants [who, as already stated, were on each side of him] sat at the nearest outer posts [that is, the two posts of the building to the right and left of the extreme easterly post behind his throne]. The fire hole was in the centre of the western *tala*[4].

Up to this point the matter seems fairly clear; but I must now quote verbatim (so far as a translation can be so called) a portion of Krämer's explanation, including statements to which I have already referred, in order to get the context of the whole. He says: "The space under the saddle roof is called *o le itu*; the front part of the space, on the village road, is *itu i luma* (front side); the back part, *itu i tua*. The three posts in the front side are chiefs' places. The corners at both sides, the *pepe*, are for lower orators. The chiefs also sit in the rounded part, the *tala*, in the eastern part, or to the left of the road, in front of the central post of the great chief. This place is called *matuatala*. The title-chief is accustomed to sit in the centre of the rounded part on a throne of mats, and at the nearest adjacent posts sit his two *tu'itu'i*. At the back part, in the *itu-i-tua*, in front of the three side posts, sits the village maiden, the *taupou*, with her two assistants, at kava making. If this place for any reason—*e.g.* owing to the great number of people—is not to be used, they sit in the front side, in front of the three house pillars, but at some distance from these. If a stranger *taupou* is present, she sits at the central post of the *itu i luma*, the front side"[5]. Krämer refers elsewhere to Sa'ilele, in the island of Tutuila, evidently associated with the goddesses Nafanua, Tilafainga, and Taema, where there was a government house, and tells us that in this house there was a post for Safotulafai; and in a foot-note he explains the Samoan word *pou* (a post) as referring to a post in the house, a place in council[6]. The reference to these goddesses points to a connection of Sa'ilele

[1] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 241.
[2] Stevenson, *V. Letters*, pp. 209 *sq.*
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 480.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 241.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 342 and *note* 10.

and its government house with the island of Savai'i; and Safotulafai was an important village district in Savai'i.

The following statement also appears in Krämer's index under the word *pou* (a post). Each chief and orator chief is able to claim one in council, while the lower *tulafale* sit between (*va*) the posts—whence *tulafale vaipu*. The posts of honour are the central post in the round part (*tala*) of the house, and the central post in the middle part, to the front—*itu i luma*. Those posts of the round part nearest the middle part [of the building] are called *pepe*, and are bad. The king sits almost alone in the middle of a round part of the house[1]. The *tafa'i* [*tu'itu'i*] sit on his right and left hand[2]. And again he says, as regards the term *pa'ia*, that it was used for persons with the meaning "consecrated," and that *ali'i pa'ia* were the high title chiefs, and sat in the middle, and alone, in a round part (*matuatala*) of the house[3].

Stuebel says that they did not sit in an arbitrary manner in the chiefs' assemblies; they did not sit in an arbitrary manner in the house. On the contrary, each had his appointed place in the house. The chief sat by rights in the *matuatala* of the house, and the *tulafale* sat in the corner (*pepe*) of the house. The *tulafale.vaipou* were the following of the great *tulafale* and were called *vaipou* (between the posts) because they had places between the posts of the house, but had not any posts themselves. Sitting between the posts was equivalent to sitting outside in front of the house[4]. Stuebel gives a sketch of the interior of the house; it does not contain all the particulars appearing in Krämer's plan, but it differs, so far as it goes, in that, whilst that plan, consistently with Krämer's text, shows the eastern *tala* only as being called *matuatala*, and shows only two *pepe* corners, Stuebel marks both the *tala* as being *matuatala*, and shows four *pepe* corners. He says that whoever had a chief's name had his place in the *matuatala* and whoever had a *tulafale* name had his place in the *pepe* of the house[5]. On another page he says that the minor heads of families were called *tulafale vaipou* because they had no pillars to lean against when seated in the assembly house[6]. Again, in describing a ceremony of granting a Malietoa title, he says that the seat in the *tala* (round part of the house) was due to Malietoa exclusively and the greeting offered to him indicates that this

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 480. [2] *Ibid.* p. 481. [3] *Ibid.* p. 480.
[4] Stuebel, p. 90. [5] *Ibid.* p. 91. [6] *Ibid.* p. 108.

reservation included, not only a particular seat, but the whole of the *tala* in which it was placed[1].

Stevenson, in his account of the kava meeting, to which I have referred already, in which he and his party were allowed to sit as guests in the end of the house set apart for the king, says that at the opposite end were the high chiefs, ranged in a semicircle, just inside the outer edge of the building and facing the king; and that each of these chiefs was in his historical position[2]. It is true this was only the kava drinking part of the function; but it can hardly be doubted that the seating would be similar if they were meeting in council—the chiefs would occupy their historical positions.

Von Hesse-Wartegg gives a description of what was evidently the *faletele* of Mata'afa, one of the principal chiefs of Aana, and, though it is only very general and short, it agrees, so far as it goes, with the other accounts; and he tells us that the construction of the building was altogether Samoan. The interest of his account is, however, in the description of his visit to Mata'afa, in which he tells us that Mata'afa was sitting in the building, alone, on fine mats, at one end of it, whilst the persons of his court were squatted opposite to him at the other end[3]. Then again, von Hesse-Wartegg tells us of the wish of the German governor that Mata'afa should be recognized as the overlord (subject to German control) of all Samoa. For this purpose he went, taking Mata'afa with him, to Faleali'i [a village of Leulumoenga, the governmental centre of Aana], which was the centre of opposition to his proposal, in order to persuade the people there to consent, in which he succeeded; and there again, Mata'afa, the accepted ruler, sat at one end of the building, and the chiefs of Faleali'i at the other end[4].

Schultz, in speaking of a meeting in the *faletele*, refers to the chiefs and speakers "leaning against the posts"[5].

The position of the throne of the head chief in one of the *tala* seems clear, though Krämer is the only person who says it was what he calls the eastern *tala*; but this does not appear to have been his position at all times, and the evidence as to the seating of the other chiefs is not clear. There is some confusion in the evidence as to the seating of both the head chief and the other chiefs, this being suggested by a comparison of the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 97.
[2] Stevenson, *V. Letters*, pp. 209 *sq.*
[3] Von Hesse-Wartegg, pp. 224 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 272–6.
[5] Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 51.

position, inside one of the *tala*, of the "throne" with Krämer's statements (1) that the posts of honour were the central post in the *tala*, and the central post in the middle part to the front, *itu i luma* [evidently the central post of the side of the building facing the road and open space of the *marae*], and (2) that the three posts in the front side [evidently that central post and the posts immediately to the right and left of it] were chiefs' places. I think the most probable explanation is that Krämer is speaking of two different matters; that the throne in the *tala* was the place where the head chief sat at a meeting or ceremony held within the *faletele*, with a *tu'itu'i* (also called *tafa'i*) on each side of him, the other chiefs being in front of him somewhere inside the building; and that the central post in the front of the building, facing the road and open *marae*, was his position, with his *tu'itu'i* at the adjoining posts on each side of him, at a great *fono*, at which most of the orators taking part in it were probably in the open *marae*. Krämer's reference to these three front posts as chiefs' places is not inconsistent with this, because the *tu'itu'i* of a great head chief or king was generally an orator chief—in fact Krämer has in one place referred to them as such. I may point out in support of this construction that we may almost assume that the head chief would sit in front of the building, facing the people at a great *fono*; it is difficult to believe that he would sit inside the building at one end of it, facing the other end.

This brings us to the question where did the chiefs, other than the head chief or king, sit at a gathering held inside the *faletele*. We have Krämer's statement that they also sat in the eastern *tala*, in front of the central post of the great chief. On the other hand, he says the king sat "almost alone," which might mean that he was alone, except as regards the *tu'itu'i* on each side of him. Stuebel says the chief sat in the *matuatala*, and the *tulafale* in the *pepe*, and as he is clearly using the term *tulafale* in the plural sense, he must, I think, be so using the term chief; indeed he says also that whoever had a chief's name had his place in a *matuatala*. That is, Stuebel is not speaking here of the solitary head chief. According to Stevenson's experience, these other chiefs were ranged in a semicircle facing the king just inside the outer edge of the opposite end of the building, and von Hesse-Wartegg's accounts indicate that they sat opposite the head chief at the other end of the building. There is, however, another point in the evidence.

Krämer says that each chief and orator chief could claim a post in council, and the lower *tulafale* sat between the posts. This reference to the lower *tulafale* may be read in connection with Stuebel's distinction between the great *tulafale*, who evidently had posts, and their followers, also *tulafale*, who had not; I think that those who had posts were *ali'i* (chiefs) and *tulafale ali'i* (orator chiefs). Stuebel and Schultz both refer to leaning against the posts. I point out that there would be no posts against which these chiefs could lean if they were sitting facing the head chief or king in the *tala* in which he sat. It may well be that these chiefs did, on, say, minor and more or less unofficial occasions, sit facing the head chief in the same *tala*; but I think that on important occasions they must have sat in a semicircle leaning against the posts in the opposite *tala*, as otherwise all these references to posts seem to be absurd. Perhpas Krämer's reference, as regards them, to the eastern *tala*, is a slip. I may add that Krämer apparently associates the term *taupou* (the village maiden) with ownership of a post (*pou*) such as a chief would have[1], and this would be consistent with her great importance.

I attach considerable importance to this question of the posts, because, if my construction of the evidence concerning them is correct, we may believe, from Stuebel's statement that each chief had his appointed place in the house, and again that every holder of a chief's name had his place in the *matuatala* and Stevenson's reference to these chiefs' historical positions, that the posts were hereditary, specific posts being the recognized seating places of the holders for the time being of specific titles. I draw attention also to the case of the *faletele* at Sa'ilele in Tutuila; I think the probable explanation of it is that this was a village district with close Savai'ian social connections, and that there was in Safotulafai a chief family whose titled head for the time being had an ancestral post, at which he was entitled to sit, at a *fono* held in this *faletele*. We seem to have a Samoan system comparable in some respects with that of the ancestral stone seats in the *marae*, which I have discussed in connection with social grouping. I referred to this Samoan system in that discussion, postponing the evidence upon it, because of its complexity, to this chapter.

Assuming that my views as to the ancestral seats within the *faletele* of certain chiefs are correct, the question arises, where did they sit at a great *fono* held in the open *marae*? We may,

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 32 *note* 1.

I think, almost assume that they would not sit in a semicircle inside the house, some of them with their backs to the people outside, leaning against their posts in the building; but I find no statement as to where they did sit.

The right of the *taupou*, who would often only be a comparatively young girl, to be present, and, apparently, to have a post of her own is interesting; but I do not propose to investigate the evidence as to the positions taken by people below the rank of chiefs; more especially as it seems only to refer to meetings inside the *faletele*. Apparently some of the *tulafale* sat between posts, and I may say that the two *pepe* positions are shown in Krämer's plan as being at the extreme north-western corner of the eastern *tala* and the extreme north-eastern corner of the western *tala*, that is to say, in front at the two sides of the northern part, nearest the road, of the *o le itu*, whilst Stuebel's *pepe* are in those two same corners of the *o le itu* and in the two corresponding corners at the back.

People from all parts might attend for the purpose of watching and listening to the proceedings at a great *fono*, and there were sometimes two thousand or more people present[1]. Great deference was, however, shown to the *fono* and the foot-track crossing the *marae* was always closed during its continuance, so as to avoid interruption; strangers and travelling parties passing along the path had to leave it some distance away from the place of meeting, take a wide circuit, and hurry past, as though on forbidden ground. Any omission to do this was regarded as an insult to the assembly, and through them, to the district they represented; indeed in early days such intruders would have been attacked with clubs and spears. Even the people at the meeting had, in passing with messages from one group to another, to go behind any intervening group[2].

Krämer says, regarding the great *fono* of Atua and Tuamasanga, that in anticipation of it they cut down all obstructions, such as coconut and breadfruit trees, bananas or sugar canes; and that any intruder who came in the way would be slain on the spot[3]; and no doubt it would be the same at others. In the

[1] Turner, p. 181. Turner is evidently referring to the people who might come to watch the proceedings, as distinguished from those who might take part in them. I do not think strangers, not concerned in the business, would be allowed to be there, even as observers; but, even assuming this to be so, the audience at a *fono* of a large area might well be numerous.

[2] Stair, pp. 90 *sq.* Cf. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 271, 223. Hood, p. 60. *Rovings*, vol. II, p. 159. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 632.

[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 223, 271.

early dawn the families of the speakers were astir, and a young man from each took the family orator's staff, proceeded to that orator's appointed place, and there drove the staff upright into the turf, and, seating himself beside it, awaited the arrival of its owner. The meeting was usually assembled by sunrise, and the business commenced[1].

The representatives present at the *fono* sat cross-legged on the ground in little groups (generally under the shade of trees), each of which had assigned to it its proper position[2]; and we are told that, at the great *fono* of Manu'a, if guests did not know their places, or showed themselves unacquainted with Manu'a's customs, they were not received[3]. Each great chief would be attended by his two *tafa'i* [*tu'itu'i*], or in the case of the *tafa'ifa*, who sat alone[4], by four of them.

I draw attention to the references to an orator's "appointed place" and to the "proper position" assigned to each group of representatives. These suggest that there may have been ancestral stations outside, on the open *marae*, as well as in the *faletele*. Perhaps Stuebel is referring to this in the first part of his double statement, quoted above, that they did not sit in an arbitrary manner in the chiefs' assemblies, and did not sit in an arbitrary manner in the house.

In Aana the nine orators of Leulumoenga had the privilege of sitting on three-legged stools, which were placed at a little distance in front of their party; but this honour was only claimed upon special occasions[5]. Discussion and deliberation seem to have been requisite as to the arrangement and relative positions of these orators on their stools[6]. At a more recent date one stool, and again at a subsequent date another stool, were added[7]. In an Atua *fono* the *tuiatua* sat on a coconut mat, and there was a person, Teuaililo, who had the privilege of sitting on a pandanus mat[8]; I have been unable to trace either the man or the reason for the honour.

I have already, in discussing the middle classes of Samoa, referred to the great privileges accorded to the orator chief Leota of Atua at a Lufilufi *fono*, repeated messages having to be sent to him before he put in an appearance, and to the interruption of the proceedings whilst he drank the milk and

[1] Stair, pp. 86 *sq.*, and see Wilkes, vol. II, p. 153.
[2] Stair, pp. 84, 87. Turner, p. 181. Cf. Erskine, pp. 73 *sq.*; Pritchard, p. 123; Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 150 *note* 1; Churchward, p. 99; Stevenson, *Letters*, p. 183.
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 368 *note* 3. [4] *Ibid.* p. 480. [5] Stair, p. 87.
[6] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 149, 150. [7] *Ibid.* p. 149 *note* 2. [8] *Ibid.* p. 271.

ate the kernel of a coconut which had previously been carried round the *marae*.

An interesting person at the Tuamasanga *fono*, was Lio of Siumu. He was one of the holders of the great office of *alataua*, specially consulted in connection with portentous decisions; indeed he seems to have been the most important of them, as he was spoken of as *fongonga o le alataua* (the voice of the *alataua*). On the assembling of a *fono*, Lio would stand in the centre of the *marae*, leaning on his staff, and apparently asleep, receiving, I imagine, inspiration from the gods. He would remain so standing for a long time, his legs being massaged meanwhile by the people of Siumu, who clustered round him. It was only, apparently, at the end of the *fono*, when all others had spoken, that Lio delivered his speech, embodying, I suppose, the final advice or wishes of the gods[1].

Returning now to the common routine of the *fono*, I would first say that each orator carried the insignia of his office—the fly-flapper, which, when speaking, he laid over his shoulder, and his orator's staff, a pole some six feet long, upon which he leaned forward during the speech[2]. It was customary for each speaker, and others also, attending the *fono* to carry a basket of plaited coconut leaves, containing coconut fibre for plaiting sinnet; and in this occupation they busily engaged themselves during the whole proceedings, each speaker laying the work aside when he rose to address the meeting, and resuming it on sitting down again[3]. The occupation must, I should think, have been a comforting sedative for men listening to a contentious or inflammatory harangue.

The leading village or village district, which had summoned the *fono*, and in which it was held, occupied [no doubt in the persons of its most important orator and his supporters] the responsible position of chairman. It kept order, delivered the opening speeches, decided disputed or knotty points, and afterwards summed up, and finally dismissed the assembly[4]. There was always a village or village district which had the right to speak next, after the opening speech[5]; and there was a definite system of priorities as to other villages or village districts[6]. The following examples will illustrate the situation. The great *fono* of Aana would be opened by the *tumua* village

[1] See Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 223.
[2] Turner, p. 181. Cf. Stair, p. 85; Hood, pp. 67 *sq.*; *Rovings*, vol. II, p. 159.
[3] Stair, p. 88. Cf. Churchward, p. 321; *Rovings*, vol. II, p. 160.
[4] Turner, p. 181. Stair, p. 84. [5] Turner, p. 181. [6] Stair, p. 84.

district of Leulumoenga. The right of making the second speech belonged to the two village districts, Fasito'otai and Fasito'outa, both of them on the north coast, and near Leulumoenga. Apparently only one of them would speak, and they had to settle between themselves which of them was to do so[1]. Subsequently speeches were made by other Aana village districts[2]. I may say, as regards those two village districts, that they seem to have been of great influence and importance. We are told that their decision was often final, the other village districts often adopting pretty much the tenour of their address; and, indeed, it is said that, unless the representative of one or other of these two village districts was present, the proceedings of the *fono* were invalid; so that, if both absented themselves, the *fono* dispersed without entering upon business[3]. The great *fono* of Atua was opened by the *tumua* village district of Lufilufi; and speeches were then made by the following village districts in the following order, Saluafata, Solosolo and Falefa; speeches were afterwards made by other village districts and finally by Faleapuna[4]. It is curious that Solosolo, which only spoke second after Lufilufi, was the village district represented by Leota, the person whose presence seems to have been so imperative, but so difficult to secure. The great *fono* of Tuamasanga was apparently opened by Malie (Auimatangi), though the *laumua* village district was Afenga[5]. This is evidently a matter arising out of the stipulations made by the war goddess Nafanua; and I may say that the situation as between Malie and Afenga, as indicated by various more or less contradictory statements of Krämer, is so confused and uncertain that I have been unable to construct an explanation of the matter. Afenga (Tuisamau) came next, however, and it was followed in turn by Faleula, Faleata, Saleimoa and Safata[6]. In the *fono* of all Samoa Leulumoenga spoke first; after which the other *tumua* discussed who should follow[7]. In the great *fono* of Manu'a the orator of the *faletolu* opened the proceedings. He was followed by Fitiuta, Ofu (a small island), Olosenga (another small island) and Sili[8]. I may, perhaps, be accused of burdening my pages by the introduction of all these names; but it seems to be the simplest method of illustrating the general custom.

A curious feature about the *fono* was that, when the time

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 150. Stair, pp. 88 *sq.*
[2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 150.
[3] Stair, p. 89.
[4] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 271.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 223.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.* p. 150.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 374.

arrived for the speech of a village district, all its official orators stood up and contended among themselves for the privilege of delivering it[1]. In Aana, for instance, the occupiers of the nine stools of Leulumoenga did this[2]. Sometimes, and especially if the subject of debate was important, the palm was quickly yielded to the speaker generally acknowledged to be the most effective; but on ordinary occasions they contended long for the honour[3]. Turner, who says that a discussion of this sort might last an hour or more, tells us that it was usually quite well known which of the orators was to speak; but that this in no way prevented the discussion, which was regarded as a formality, one subject of which was to show the assembly that the orators were all there, and who they were[4]. It may be noticed that this wrangle would in fact perpetuate the recognition of the right of each of the claimants to represent his village district, and this might be important, especially if it was generally exercised by any one of them.

This brings us to the speeches, the duration of which would commonly be a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes[5]. But the opening speech was always greatly prolonged by an elaborate series of greetings offered by the speaker to the other delegates. The speaker commenced his address by carefully going over the titles of the various districts and great divisions of the islands represented at the meeting, each having a distinctive complimentary title, by which it was always known and spoken of, quite apart from those conferred upon the different chiefs; and the omission of any title of a district at the enumeration of names of districts was looked upon as an insult[6]. Moreover, it was the duty of the speaker, in each specific reference to a place or chief, to expand into an apologetic preface and reference to ancestral and other matters of which that place or chief had reason to be proud[7]. The repetition of all these greetings, with their accompanying laudatory references, was often a long business, occupying half an hour or so, and during its continuance conversation went on freely among the assembled people; but as soon as the speaker reached the real subject matter of his address—the object of the meeting and his opinions upon it—all was silence and attention[8]. I may point out that an

[1] Stair, p. 85. [2] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 149 *sq.* [3] Stair, p. 85.
[4] Turner, p. 182. Cf. Erskine, pp. 73 *sq.*; Hood, p. 139; *Rovings*, vol. II, p. 159; Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 632. [5] Stair, p. 85.
[6] Stair, pp. 85 *sq.* Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 478.
[7] Stair, p. 86. Turner, p. 182. [8] Turner, p. 182.

important effect of these greetings would be to keep alive the remembrance of the rights to take part in a *fono* of the districts, etc., to which they referred and of the family traditions of the representatives of these places; but I have found no suggestion that this was the reason for them.

There were two terms for these greetings. *Faalupenga* was the general term for all greetings, including those given in small districts and villages. *Ao tetele* was the special form of greetings—"the great honours"—offered at very great assemblies of divisions, such as Aana, and large or important districts[1]. Each greeting was, as we shall see, a series of greetings; and each governmental area had the specific series of greetings that were offered at its *fono*. There was one for all Samoa; one for each of the three divisions of Upolu; one for each of the islands of Savai'i and Tutuila; one for each of the districts within the three islands; one for each of the village districts of those divisions and districts; and some of the more important villages had them also. So, as regards the Manu'an group, there was one for Manu'a, and one for each district, and probably for each village district of the group[2]; though the material collected by Krämer there is not so complete.

Krämer gives particulars of, apparently, all of these greetings (except as regards Manu'a), that is, of the specific series of greetings offered at the *fono* of each of the various areas, great and small; but these do not seem to include the further complimentary and probably extempore, personal observations by which the greetings were, according to Stair and Turner, accompanied. I have selected from Krämer's collection ten fairly typical examples, for the purpose of showing their general character, namely, the greetings for all Samoa; for the three big divisions Upolu; for their three principal village districts; for a district of of Atua; and for Manu'a and for its principal village district. The notes appended to the several separate greetings are mainly those which appear on the same pages as the greetings in Krämer's book; though I have omitted a good deal of detail—legendary, personal and explanatory—of a more or less local character, and I have in places amplified, in the hope of making matters rather more clear. References to books appearing in the body of the notes refer, unless otherwise stated, to other pages of Krämer. Where terms used have already been explained I do not explain them again.

[1] See Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 478. [2] *Ibid.* collection of greetings, *S.I.* vol. 1.

The Ao tetele of All Samoa[1]

Greeting to thee, Pule.

This designation refers to Safotulafai, the most powerful of the six principal village districts (seats of government) of Savai'i; it was thus in effect a greeting to all Savai'i. (See also vol. 1, p. 150 *note* 5.) The term *pule* means "rule," "authority"; but I see from Pratt's dictionary that it was specially applied to certain areas in Savai'i that had the direction in councils.

Greeting to the *tumua*.

This referred to Leulumoenga (in Aana) and Lufilufi (in Atua) and was regarded as including, by way of honour, Afenga, though this village district was called a *laumua*.

Greeting to the family of the sea.

Refers to the small island of Manono (near the western extremity of Upolu), whose people seem to have been famous for their prowess on the sea. (See Stair, p. 79.)

Greeting to the *alataua* and the *ituau*.

Greeting to the ship of Fonoti.

Fonoti of the *tuiaana* line, who had reached the position of *tafa'ifa* (king of all Samoa) (vol. 1, p. 170), had rewarded the village districts of Faleapuna and Fangaloa (both in Atua) for fighting bravely for him in his struggle for power by conferring on them the right to the title *va'a o Fonoti* (the ship of Fonoti) (vol. 1, p. 15); and they were the village districts referred to in the greeting.

It will be noticed that in these greetings Savai'i, which was less important than Upolu, came first, and that Tutuila and Manu'a were entirely excluded. As regards Savai'i, Krämer does not explain why it had the distinction of priority; it may have had its origin in the part which the great Tonumaipea family of Savai'i took in forming the constitution of "all Samoa"; or it may have been an act of politeness, due to the fact that this *fono* of all Samoa was held at Leulumoenga, in Upolu; but these suggestions are mere guesses. As regards Tutuila and Manu'a, Krämer says that, if one of them were present at an all Samoa *fono*, it would receive its own *ao tetele* to which it was entitled. This looks as though these islands were not commonly present at such a *fono*; as to this I would point out that Tutuila was politically a very unimportant island; and Manu'a would hardly, I should imagine, be likely to be present when it was politically separate.

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 18.

The Ao tetele of the Division of Aana[1]

Greeting to thee, Leulumoenga.
Greeting to thee, the *tumua*.

These two greetings were both addressed, first by name, and then by title, to the *tumua* village district of Aana.

Greeting to the House of the Nine and to your *matua*, Alipia.

The House of the Nine refers to the nine families whose representatives were the occupiers of the nine stools of Leulumoenga, and Alipia was the name of their *matua*. The nine orator families controlled the grant of the *tuiaana* title (vol. I, p. 152).

Greeting to the highness *tuiaana*, and to So'oa'emalelangi and Pasese and Umanga.

So'oa'emalelangi was the *sa'oaualuma* name (see chapter on "Matrilineal Descent") of the *tuiaana* family[2], and was borne by the *taupou*, or village maiden.

Pasese and Umanga were the names of the *tu'itu'i* of the *tuiaana*.

Greeting to ye, ye two leaders.

Refers to Fasito'outa and Fasito'otai, the two village districts on the north coast of Aana, which took a leading place in war and peace and had the right of speaking next after the opening speech.

Greeting to the different sacred rights of Aana.

Refers to the rights of the village districts of Aana to have special messengers sent to each of them summoning them to the *fono*.

Reverent greeting to the family Satuala.
Reverent greeting to the family Taulangi.
Reverent greeting to the family Tauaana.
Reverent greeting to the family Mavaenga.

These four greetings were addressed to four leading branches of the *tuiaana* family.

The Faalupenga of Leulumoenga (*the leading village district of Aana*)[3]

Greeting to thee, Leulumoenga.
Greeting to the House of the Nine.
Greeting to thy assembly.
The nine orator chiefs who occupied the stools.
Greeting to the *matua*, thy honourable Alipia.
See above (greetings of Aana).

[1] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 149. [2] *Ibid.* p. 32. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 152 *sq.*

Greeting to the pillars of *tuiaana*, Umanga and Pasese.

See above (greetings of Aana).

In reverence welcome the sons of Tamalelangi, Tuioti and Taualofae.

The makers of the kava of the *tuiaana*.

Greeting to thy highness, So'oa'emalelangi.

See above (greetings of Aana).

Greeting to thy highness, *tuiaana*.

Mayest thou sit wisely in council, Leulumoenga.

The Ao tetele of the Division of Atua[1]

Greeting to thee, Lufilufi.

Greeting to thee, *tumua*.

Two greetings, addressed, first by name, and then by title to the *tumua* village district of Atua.

Greeting to the House of the Six.

This refers to the six families, whose orators controlled Lufilufi, and the grant of the *tuiatua* title, and whose position was similar to that of the nine families in Aana.

Greeting to the highness of *tuiatua*, and to Tupa'i and Tainau.

The latter two names were those of the *tu'itu'i* of the *tuiatua*.

Greeting to Tongiai, the *tuiatua*, who leads thy *malanga*, Lufilufi, when there is no king present.

Malanga means a travelling party. If the *tuiatua* (king of Atua) were at the head of such a party, all would follow him without compensation. It was the privilege of Tongiai, of the *tuiatua* family, to claim the same attention, if the *tuiatua* was not there (vol. 1, p. 272). A similar privilege existed in Aana (vol. 1, p. 207).

Greeting to Leausa, who art *ituau* and *alataua*.

See explanation of the meaning of these terms. Leausa was an orator chief. Aana and Atua had only *alataua* orators, not *alataua* districts (vol. 1, p. 151).

Greeting to the head of Atua.

Greeting to the body of Atua.

Greeting to the tail of Atua.

These three greetings refer to the three great districts of Atua—Aleipata, Itu Anoamaa and Itu Salefao—and are based upon a tradition as to the origin of the name Lufilufi. The tradition relates to the dividing up, into three parts, of a fish,

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 271 *sq.*

by a young man by the orders of the *tuiatua*. The cutting up evidently took place in Itu Anoamaa, where the body was retained; but the head was sent to Saleaaumua (in Aleipata), and the tail to Itu Salefao; hence these three districts were called the body, the head and the tail of Atua. The name Lufilufi (to cut up food) originated in this tradition (vol. I, pp. 305 *sq.*).

Greeting to the speech of Tuu'u.
An orator chief with special privileges.
Greeting to the Salevalasi family.
Greeting to the Safenunuivao family.
Two leading branches of the *tuiatua* family.
Greeting to the towering coconut palms of Atua.
Refers to the orators of Atua.

The Faalupenga of Lufilufi (the leading village district of Atua)[1]

Greeting to Lufilufi.
Greeting to the House of the Six.
See above (greetings of Atua).
Greeting to the circle of chiefs.
Refers to the orator chiefs (*tulafale ali'i*).
Greeting to ye dividers of food.
The orator chiefs, whose right it was to divide and distribute the food at a great *fono*.
Greeting to thy highness, chief *tuiatua*.
Greeting to ye pillars, Tupa'i and Tainau.
See above (greetings of Atua).
Greeting to Tongiai, the *tuiatua* who leads thy *malanga*, Lufilufi, when there is no king present.
See above (greetings of Atua).
Greeting to Seutatia of Mulinuu, who cheweth kava for thee, Lufilufi.
Refers to a family branch whose duty it was to chew kava.
Greeting to Leausa, who is *ituau* and *alataua*.
See above (greetings of Atua).
Greeting to the still lake for thee, Lufilufi.
Peace. It also refers to the great lake of blood produced in battle through the bravery of the Lufilufi people.
Mayest thou sit wisely in council, Lufilufi.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 274.

The Faalupenga of Aleipata (a large and important district of Atua)[1]

Greeting to thee, Saleaaumua.
The leading village district of Aleipata.
Greeting to ye both, House of the Two.
Refers to the two sub-districts of Aleipata—Faleilunga and Faleilala.
Greeting to both ye eldest, Leifi and Tautoloitua.
Refers to Fuatanga and Tafua, two leading orator chiefs, said to be more powerful in Aleipata than the chiefs. Fuatanga was supreme in Faleilunga, and Tafua was all powerful in Faleilalo.

The Ao tetele of the Division of Tuamasanga[2]

Greeting to thee, *laumua*.
Refers to the village district of Afenga.
Greeting to Tuisamau and Auimatangi.
The former name referred to the village district of Afenga (the real seat of government), and the latter to Malie (the seat of the Malietoa and of the House of the Nine—their nine orator families).
Greeting to the triple bond of Sangana and the House of the Six of the band of Ngana.
The triple union refers to the village districts of Afenga, Malie and Tuanai, all in the sub-district of Sangana.
Greeting to the *alataua* and the *ituau*.
The village districts of Safata and Faleata—Tuamasanga (unlike Aana and Atua) had *alataua* village districts.

The Faalupenga of Afenga (the leading village district of Tuamasanga)[3]

Greeting to thee, Tuisamau.
The name given to the *faleupolu*, or council of orators, of Afenga.
Greeting to Fata and Maulolo.
Two great orator chiefs of Tuamasanga, who, as *faleta itai* (house of leaders), had the affairs of government of the district in their hands and controlled the Ngatoaitele title (one of the four titles required for kingship of all Samoa).
Greeting to thee, *faleta itai*.
Refers to the same two persons.

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 280. [2] *Ibid.* p. 222. [3] *Ibid.* p. 224.

In reverence welcome to thy highness, Savea, and to Maututaalongo and the *matua* Manuaifua.

The first two names were those of members of the Malietoa family.

Greeting to Salesaena.

In reverent welcome to the highness Luatfatsanga.

Both members of the Malietoa family.

Greeting to thee, chief, the highness Ngatoaitele.

Addressed in honour of that title.

The Ao tetele of Manu'a[1]

Greeting to Manu'a.

Greeting to thy highness, *tuimanu'a*, who dwellest in the *Faleula*.

Faleula was the name of the *faletele* of the king (*tuimanu'a*), situate in the leading village district of Tau.

Reverence to thy royal mats and thy sleeping house.

Epa, the mats of the king, on which he sat and slept. The *faletoa*, or sleeping house, was his actual dwelling house, which lay behind the *Faleula*.

Reverence to the pillars of government.

The *tu'itu'i*.

Reverence to ye two Vaimangalo, who protect the orator staves of the *Faleula*, who protect Manu'a.

Vaimangalo (sweet water) was an honorary designation of two chiefs Soatoa and Lefiti, in Tau, who were direct advisers of the king. The expression "orator staves" means orators.

The Faalupenga of Tau (the leading village district of Manua)[2]

Greeting to thee, House of the Three.

The House of the Three refers to the three great orator families of Manu'a.

Greeting to Malaetele and Malaeovavou.

Two *marae* of Tau. (All Samoan *marae* had names, by which they were referred to. See vol. 1, p. 479.)

Greeting to thy highness *tuimanu'a*.

Greeting to thy brother chiefs Soatoa and Lefiti.

See above (greetings of Manu'a).

Greeting to the band of chiefs.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 367.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 368 *sq.*

Greeting to ye orator staves, Tulifua, Tauese, Milo, Faamausili, Tuaao, Fofo and Atiu.

These were all orators.

Greeting to thy reverence Tauanuu, who, as the eldest, hast the word in the *Faleula*, who protectest the title, and listenest to the word of the king.

A powerful orator chief. For "eldest," see *matua* in explanation of terms.

Greeting to the *atuali'i* of the *faletolu*.

The general term for the kava chewers in Samoa was *aumanga*. In Manu'a, however, the *tuimanu'a's* chewers were called *atuali'i*, in view of their holy origin. (See reference to this origin in discussion of Samoan Areas and Systems.)

Greeting to the king's son.

The son of the *tuimanu'a*—the Crown Prince.

Greeting to thy mightiness Silia.

He was the leader of the kava chewers at the king's kava.

Greetings to the sons of the brother chiefs.

The sons of Soatoa and Lefiti.

Greeting to the sons of the orators.

Greetings to the *aualuma* of the *faletolu*.

The band of maidens who accompanied the *taupou*, or village maiden.

Greeting to Samalaulu and her following.

Samalaulu was the *sa'oaualuma* name (see chapter on "Matrilineal Descent") of the *tuimanu'a* family, and was borne by the village maiden or *taupou* of the *tuimanu'a*.

Greeting to Nganguola and her following.

Krämer says that Nganguola was the name borne by the *taupou* of the Taofi branch of the *tuimanu'a* family; so I presume it was the *sa'oaualuma* name of that branch.

Greeting to the daughters of the brother chiefs.

Greeting to the daughters of the orators.

Note. Krämer draws attention to the inclusion in Manu'a greetings of specific reference to the attendants on the village maiden and to the kava chewers, which, he says, is distinctive of the greetings of that group, as compared with those of the other groups. Greetings to these people appear in all the *faalupenga* of the Manu'a village districts, but not in those of other Samoan village districts, though, as in the case of Leulumoenga (*vide ante*), names of individual kava chewers might appear (see also Lufilufi greeting).

Returning to the general subject of the proceedings at a *fono*, we are told that, as an orator proceeded, his party sat around him, and acted as prompters, refreshing his memory, suggesting to him topics upon which to touch, or recalling him when he was going astray. The orators took all these interruptions very quietly, and showed much dexterity in retreating from positions or statements which met with the disapproval of their parties. Sometimes, if an orator became wearisome, his companions would tell him to sit down and hold his tongue[1].

A Samoan orator did not let his voice fall, but rather gradually raised it, so that the last word in the sentence was the loudest[2]. The manner of speaking was good, and the self-possession of the orators remarkable[3]. Many of the speakers were eloquent. Their style of speaking was often figurative and as their addresses frequently contained allusions to their old traditions and past national history, they were often very instructive[4]. A speaker was seldom interrupted, and all were heard patiently, however unpalatable their observations might be. Sometimes, however, a speaker from another party presented himself to correct a misstatement, or oppose the position taken up by the man addressing the meeting; and this might produce a good deal of wrangling between the speakers[5].

Food for the people assembled was provided by the families within a radius of a few miles of the place of meeting. The young men and women of each family would come in a string of ten or twenty, decked out in their best, and present the food which they had brought to the head of their family and he would direct its distribution, first supplying visitors from a distance. Kava was also brought and distributed. He would tell them to take some of it to a particular orator or chief, and the latter would afterwards return the compliment; in this way a flow of friendship was induced, and even people who had been living at variance took advantage of the opportunity of showing kindness to each other[6]. All this took place at mid-day. Business proceeded, however, in the meantime; and, indeed, we are told that they generally contrived that the mid-day meal should take place at the time when the representative of some unimportant place had the attention of the meeting, the address on such occasions becoming jocose, and at times

[1] Stair, p. 86. See also Wilkes, vol. II, p. 154. [2] Turner, p. 181.
[3] Wilkes, vol. II, pp. 153 *sq.* [4] Stair, p. 86. [5] *Ibid.* p. 87.
[6] Turner, pp. 182 *sq.* Stair, p. 87. Wilkes, vol. II, p. 153. Cf. Pritchard, p. 123; Churchward, p. 99; Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 150.

even ludicrous, when the speaker recognized the uselessness of attempting to gain a hearing by any other style of speech[1].

The meetings generally broke up at sundown; but if the matter under discussion was something of unusual interest and urgency, a meeting might be continued in the dark, and perhaps not end until long after midnight[2]; and might even last for several days[3].

The decisions of a *fono* were called *tulafono*, or acts of council. They were not arrived at by voting, but by general consent, the discussion over any question being prolonged until some conclusion, satisfactory to the greater part, and particularly the most influential members of the council, was arrived at. The decision appears, however, to have rested mainly with the *malo*, or strong party for the time being, for we are told that the government was in fact conducted by that party, though the members of the *vaivai* or weak party, generally retained their power within their own respective districts[4]. Wilkes says that failure in obedience to the decree of the *fono* was punished by the *malo* party, who plundered the defaulters of their lands[5]. Turner tells us, however, that unless all were pretty well agreed, nothing was done, as they were afraid to thwart even a small minority, and there was a great lack of power to do so[6]; indeed Brown says there was no power to enforce a decision upon a dissenting village[7].

A question of commencing war was discussed in the first instance by a council of chiefs. These councils were the *faletui* referred to on a previous page. I do not think their discussions were confined to matters of war. I do not know where the meetings were held; but I think it must have been in the *faletele*. It seems clear that the decision arrived at had to be submitted, at all events in some cases, for confirmation by a general *fono*. Turner refers to chiefs deciding on war[8]; but he also says that when war was threatened "the whole district assembled at their capital, and had a special parliament to deliberate as to what should be done"[9]. Stair also says that weighty matters such as declaring war, or making peace "were deliberated upon in a general *fono* of the whole district, com-

[1] Stair, pp. 87 *sq.*
[2] Turner, p. 183, and see Wilkes, vol. II, p. 153.
[3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 150 *note*.
[4] Hale, p. 29. Cf. Wilkes, vol. II, p. 152; Erskine, p. 63; Pritchard, p. 52; Hood, p. 78.
[5] Wilkes, vol. II, p. 153.
[6] Turner, p. 183.
[7] Brown, p. 287.
[8] Turner, p. 190.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 181.

posed of representatives of all the settlements and villages of the district"[1]; and Brown refers to the same matter[2].

It may almost be assumed that when a question of war was to be debated at a general *fono*, it would not only be considered beforehand by the *faletui*, but would also be the subject of divination by the *alataua*, whose pronouncement of the will of the gods would have great weight both with the *faletui* and at the subsequent *fono*. I have found no detailed account of the proceedings in such a case of the *alataua*, except with reference to a *fono* of all Aana, as to which Krämer gives the following. When a great *fono* was to be held at Ma'aunga [the name of the *marae* at Leulumoenga; see Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 149 *note* 1] by Leulumoenga and all Aana, there was an *aitu-fono* [a *fono* at which the *aitu* was first questioned; an augury; see Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 151 *note* 1]. When midnight was drawing nigh then Ngalu and Lemana adorned themselves with fine mats and bark cloth. Then they went to the *fono* in the great house at Leulumoenga, and all the curtain mats of the house were let down, except one at the back of the house. The two chiefs went into the house, and each sat in a round part of the house and remained there. There was also a man with four coconuts; he broke them, and brought one nut to Ngalu and another to Lemana, and he took the third to a post at the front side of the house, and the fourth to the back part. It was taboo for either to speak. The chiefs sat there till dawn broke. Then the man who brought the coconuts went to get the pulp of the nut [we are not told which nut]; he felt in the nut, and if there was still milk in it, it was a sign that the *aitu* was not coming to the *fono*. Then Ngalu and Lemana were sad. But if all the milk had been drunk out, it was a sign that the *aitu* was coming to the *fono*, and they were glad. When morning arrived, all Aana came to the *fono*, and Ngalu and Lemana imparted what the *aitu* had made known to them. Then the *fono* was finished[3].

Ngalu and Lemana were orator chiefs[4], and Ngalu was the same person as Alipia[5], who, as we have seen in the greetings for all Aana, was the *matua* of the House of the Nine at Leulumoenga. Lemana was evidently another specially important member of the House of the Nine, for according to Krämer it was apparently either Ngalu or Lemana who opened

[1] Stair, p. 84. [2] Brown, p. 165. [3] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 151.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 151 *note* 4. [5] *Ibid.* p. 151 *note* 2.

the proceedings at the great *fono* of Aana[1]. The narrative discloses the immense power which these men, acting under divine inspiration, would have in controlling the decision of the ultimate *fono*. Apparently their operations were not confined to questions of peace and war, but it does not necessarily follow that this would generally be the case with Samoan *alataua*; it must be remembered that Leulumoenga was not an *alataua* district in the strict sense, and was the seat of secular government for all Aana, so it is likely enough that these two specially inspired men would perform their sacred functions in all important matters affecting Aana.

Churchward refers to a custom in Tuamasanga for the great chiefs, in time of trouble, or whenever any important question had to be investigated, to retire to the *fale o le Fe'e*, each resting his back against a stone pillar, until one of them should receive inspiration from the spirits hovering there, and deliver his instruction in oracular form[2]. This *fale o le Fe'e*, or house of Fe'e was, I may say, a structure up in the mountains of Tuamasanga, the ruins of which have given rise to some speculation, but which appears to have been a house of round or elliptical form; paved with slabs of stone, and with stone pillars supporting what had been the roof, but which, whatever may have been its structure, had disappeared. Whether or not it had at one time been a stone building, used for the purpose of a *faletele*, it had apparently been used in historical times for a purpose similar to that to which the two *alataua* of Leulumoenga used the *faletele* of that place. Churchward does not tell us, however, whether the great chiefs who sat in it were *alataua*; nor do we know, as regards the question of ancestral posts, whether individual chiefs had their own respective posts against which they or their ancestors had rested.

TONGA

The council meetings of Tonga were also called *fono*. Some of the evidence points to a difference between the purposes of a Tongan *fono* and that of Samoa; so I will first refer to some statements bearing on this question. Mariner describes a *fono* called by Finau. It was a general assembly of the people to be addressed with reference to agricultural matters, reminded of their duty towards their chiefs, and how they ought to

[1] Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 150. [2] Churchward, p. 181.

behave at all public ceremonies, and have pointed out to them their moral and political duties. He speaks of this *fono* as having been of a general nature, in which the address was directed to all the people, or at least to the petty chiefs; and refers to other *fono* of a similar character. He says, for example, that when complaints were made to the older chiefs and *matabule* of molestation by young chiefs of women whom they met on the road, Finau would have a *fono* of the people, in which the impropriety of the conduct of these young chiefs was pointed out, and the offenders admonished and ordered to behave better in future. He tells us that meetings for this purpose had to be held frequently—every fourteen or twenty days—for the preservation of order, and that the speech was generally delivered by some old *matabule*. Mariner also tells of *fono* held with reference to specific matters which had to be done; these included such things as the repairing of Finau's canoe, for which purpose the owner of one plantation would be ordered to provide the timber, and another the food for the workers. More extensive matters would be the construction of a large house, planting of yams and bananas, supplying provisions for feasts, funerals, etc., for all of which purposes a tax was laid upon the people, every principal landowner providing his share, employing his own dependants to do the needful work. Sometimes the matter dealt with was one of public policy. Mariner says the petty chiefs used to call together their own dependants and address them in a similar way[1]. Thomson (speaking possibly of modern times) describes a *fono* as a compulsory meeting of the people to listen to the orders of some person in authority[2]. He also says that the chiefs' orders of old were published abroad by the crier (*fanongomongo*) and that the *matabule* were the hereditary censors of public morals, and summoned *fono* to lecture to the young chiefs, whenever they made a wider breach in the proprieties than their rank permitted[3]. Mr A. Radcliffe Brown, who has recently been in Tonga, and who has, very kindly, sent me (from Cape Town) some information on this and other subjects (speaking of past customs), says that the *fono* of Tonga must not be compared with that of Samoa. In Tonga there was no discussion at a *fono*; a chief held it whenever he had something to say to his people. The only person who spoke was the person who had called the *fono*. He thus communicated to his people

[1] Mariner, vol. I, pp. 229 *sqq*. [2] Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 85. [3] *Ibid.* p. 86.

anything that he wished them to know, and gave them any orders that he wished them to carry out. The people sat on the *marae* facing the chief, as he stood up and spoke to them, and as soon as he had finished the *fono* was over and the people dispersed. In matters that concerned the whole country the *tuikanokubolu* would hold a general *fono*, to which he would summon the chiefs and more important or powerful of their followers, and such a *fono* was exactly like any other. The *tuikanokubolu* would stand up and address those assembled, saying to them whatever he wished, and when he had ended his speech the *fono* was over, there being no discussion. Brown says he believes that each chief exercised autocratic power over his own people. There was no control by any decisions of the *fono*, for all such decisions were made by the chief.

We therefore have three separate authorities telling us that the purpose of the *fono* was not to consult, but merely to receive orders. Two of them are quite modern, and the question is how far back had the custom of which they were informed prevailed. Mariner is, of course, a witness of bygone days; but it must be remembered that his information was obtained, not in Tongatabu, but in the less important islands to the north of it, under the control of a military conquering ruler, who might perhaps be inclined to be unconstitutional and arbitrary in his methods, and whose example would very likely be followed by the chiefs who were under him. The fundamental difference between the customs of Samoa and those of Tonga, as here disclosed, prompts me to wonder whether the latter must be assumed to have been in accordance with the real political system and method of Tonga.

The *fono* described above seem to have been held, like the public *fono* of Samoa, in the open space or *marae*[1], which, according to Mariner, was generally before a large house [probably the equivalent of the Samoan *faletele*?] or a chief's grave[2].

I will now draw attention to some further evidence, which will, I think, throw a little additional light on the subject.

Waldegrave (1830), referring to a visit made by him to the island of Vavau to demand an explanation of an attack by natives on some English ships, says that he went to the great kava house, where he found the king [Finau] seated, with

[1] Père A. C., pp. xi, 191. Mr A. R. Brown's statement. Cf. L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. I, p. 298.

[2] Mariner, vol. II, p. lxxvii.

Brown, an Englishman, on his left hand; on either side were the principal chiefs, and in front the lesser chiefs. Around the house, on the green, between the *faitoka* [burying place] of the late king and the kava house, were seated about three thousand people[1]. This description of the respective positions of the various groups of people might be construed as being in accord with what was usual in Tonga at an outside kava ring, with the king seated at the edge of the ring, immediately in front of the centre of the Tongan equivalent of a *faletele*, and the rest of the ring extending in front of him over the *marae*; it was evidently a special gathering intended to receive Waldegrave and deal with the question of reparations, and it is probable that its arrangement was similar to that of an outside *fono*, at which there would, according to custom, be kava drinking.

Home (1849) describes a visit which he paid to the *tuitonga*. He and his party came to an enclosed space, in the centre of which stood the "house of ceremony," a good-sized building, with open sides. There he found the *tuitonga* seated in the house with his back leaning against one of the posts at one end of the building, and there were a number of people sitting in a semicircle round the opposite end; and we are told of the kava party which took place afterwards in the building[2]. Elsewhere Home describes a visit paid by him to the *tuikanokubolu*, whom he found waiting for him in the house "used for public meetings." He tells us that the king sat in the middle, with a few of the principal chiefs and at the end of the house opposite to him, there was a semicircle of other chiefs, the space in the centre of the house being left clear[3]. It is evident that the place where the king sat "in the middle" was not in the centre of the house, but at one of the ends, the semicircle of chiefs being in the other end. These were receptions, and not *fono*, but the positions of the kings and their chiefs would be the same as those taken at an indoor *fono*; and I point out that these positions seem to have been identical with those of such a *fono* of Samoa. The few principal chiefs sitting with the king would be the equivalent of the *tu'itu'i* of Samoa.

West (1846–55) says the king was expected to consult a certain coterie of the higher chiefs, *kau matua*, "old men," in all matters of state and government[4]. The deliberative assemblies

[1] Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, pp. 190 *sq.*
[2] Home, p. 585.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 635.
[4] West, p. 261.

of the chiefs were very stately affairs. Each sat in a circle, arranged according to the rank and precedence of those who composed it, where speeches were made by authorized orators, and by some of the leading chiefs; after which the ceremony of kava drinking would be proceeded with. These meetings would often extend over several hours, and every part of the proceedings was governed and conducted according to well-known and rigid laws of etiquette. From these assemblies the knowledge of new enactments, or of the arrangements adopted for any projects entertained by the chiefs was circulated among the people at large by the *matabule*[1]. West tells us that at the inauguration of King George in 1845, two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king elect. These were two of the *matua*, whose office was to relieve the king, and act on his behalf[2].

Erskine (1849) was told, though he did not know whether the information was correct, that the period of speaking at a *fono* in Tonga was confined to the time occupied in preparing the kava, a ceremony which, with the Samoans, was but one of the ordinary preliminaries. He says that the habit of eloquence, "as might be expected," was not nearly so common among the Tongans, and the consequent shortness of speeches of the chiefs, and absence of profuse compliments which custom exacted in the other case [*i.e.* Samoa] were very remarkable[3].

Brierley (1850), in describing a gathering which he witnessed, says that the place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and back temporarily closed in with matting. There he found the king [George] seated cross-legged on the ground, with five of his principal chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside the house, and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it, the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond[4]. Then, after giving a detailed account of the kava drinking, Brierley says that, after the kava had all been served out, the chiefs that sat outside the house rose and went off without further ceremony, and Brierley and his party went away, leaving the king to discuss state matters with his ministers, who remained sitting with him in the shed, as Brierley had found them[5]. He also, in speaking of the kava drinking, says that besides the chief on the king's right, who directed the ceremonies generally, the king was attended by an orator, a venerable-looking old chief, who sat two removed

[1] West, p. 265. [2] *Ibid.* p. 59. [3] Erskine, p. 156.
[4] Brierley, *J.R.G.S.* vol. XXII, p. 105. [5] *Ibid.* p. 108.

from him on his left, and who made on the king's behalf, a speech thanking the people for the offerings they had brought him[1]. The shed to which Brierley refers was probably a building equivalent to the Samoan *faletele*, all the mat screens round it, except those to the front, being down.

Monfat, in some historical narrative of the middle of last century, taken from the records of the French missionaries, refers to the death of the *tuikanokubolu*, and to George's confidence of being able to impose himself [as a successor] at the "chiefs' *fono*"[2]; and later on we are told of hostilities between George, who was then king, and some rebels in the district or village of Pea, of his offer to treat with them, and of a night *fono* of the rebels held at Pea to decide what should be done[3]. I find in the records of these missionaries a statement that the king conferred with a chief, who was a relation of his, and was his "mouth," as he called it[4].

In Père A. C.'s dictionary I find the following terms: *fale* (a house), *fale-hau* (house in which the chief and people assemble), *fale-lahi* (large house on a *malae*).

I think that Home's accounts may be taken to represent the positions of the people at a small *fono* held inside the council house, these having been, apparently, the same as in Samoa; but they do not tell us more than this. The other accounts, or most of them, appear to refer to larger gatherings.

There is, however, matter in this additional evidence which enables us to consider further the character of a *fono*, held in the open *marae*, at which a relatively large number of people took part, as distinguished from a private consultation of a relatively small circle of chiefs. The accounts which I have quoted do not, I think, all refer to what I may call an ordinary *fono*. Waldegrave is describing his ceremonious reception by the king; but this was apparently for the purpose of discussing reparations. One of West's accounts refers to a king's inauguration; but in Samoa this would be done at a *fono*[5]. That which Brierley describes is a kava ring, which may or may not have been in this particular case a part of the proceedings at a *fono*, followed by a private consultation between the king and some of his chiefs. In any case, however, these accounts are not without interest, because the arrangement of the people at a big kava ring was, I believe, similar to that at a *fono*. I draw

[1] *Ibid.* p. 106. [2] Monfat, *Tonga*, p. 291.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 353. [4] *A.P.F.* vol. xv, p. 430. [5] Stair, p. 84.

attention, however, to the following statements. Mariner himself says that the matter dealt with was sometimes "one of public policy," and tells us that petty chiefs also used to summon their own dependants in the same way. West, who spent a considerable time in Tonga, says that the king was expected to consult a certain coterie of higher chiefs, *kau matua*, "old men," in all matters of state and government. He describes the deliberative assemblies of the chiefs, where speeches were made by the "authorized orators" and by some of the leading chiefs; and it is evident that at these meetings new enactments were made, and projects entertained by the chiefs were considered, the results of the discussions being afterwards made known to the people. He refers to the two *matua*, of chiefs' rank, who sat on either side of the king and acted on his behalf. Erskine is apparently speaking of Tongan *fono* generally, and not merely of a king's *fono*, when he compares it with that of Samoa; and, whether or not his information as to the difference in the speeches at the *fono* of the two respective groups is correct, it is clear that there were speeches by various people in Tonga. We gather from the French missionaries that the king conferred with a related chief [probably his confidential adviser] who was called his "mouth," from which I gather that he spoke on the king's behalf.

The first point to which I draw attention is that, unless West and Erskine are utterly wrong, Tongan *fono* did not only assemble for the purpose of receiving orders from the king or head chief; these *fono*, or some of them, were deliberative assemblies, at which various people spoke, and which were, to this extent, comparable with the *fono* of Samoa. I may say that, as to this point, I accept the evidence of these two writers as being probably correct, notwithstanding the statements of Mariner, who knew nothing of Tongatabu, and whose knowledge was all obtained in the northerly islands, governed by the conquering and autocratic Finau, and the recent statements of Thomson and Radcliffe Brown.

The next question to be considered is, who were the people that were entitled to take part in and speak at a Tongan consultative *fono*? Before discussing this I must point out that the *matabule* were, according to Mariner, the attendants, counsellors and ministers of chiefs. There does not appear, however, to have been any clear line of demarcation between the *matabule*

and the chiefs; indeed, from the evidence that has appeared in the discussion of social and local grouping, it seems that some of them, at all events, were what we may call minor chiefs, being related to the great chiefs. Passing now to the consideration of the question, I will refer again to West's evidence, and will assume that at a king's *fono* the persons entitled to take part in it were only the leading chiefs and certain "authorized orators." Who were these orators, and whom did they represent? Probably the king's orator, if he employed one, would often be a relative, with whom he was in the habit of conferring, and who, we are told, acted as his "mouth"; but there were evidently other orators, and the question arises, who were they, and in what capacity were they present and allowed to speak? They may have been simply the mouthpieces of the leading chiefs, in which case they would probably be minor chiefs or *matabule*; this would necessarily be so, if the right to participate in the *fono* was confined to the leading chiefs.

Let us, however, compare a king's consultative *fono* in Tonga with a king's *fono* in Samoa. They may really have been very much alike. In Samoa the king had to consult a *fono* on important matters; and in Tonga, according to West, he was expected to do so. In both groups, apparently, there was a custom for chiefs, or at all events kings, often to speak through their orators, and not personally. In Samoa the orators were the *tulafale*, those representing the king often being *tulafale ali'i*. We cannot say exactly who they were in Tonga, but they would probably be chiefs and *matabule*, whilst the king's speaker would, perhaps, be a chief or a *matabule* of relatively high rank. In Samoa the persons entitled to speak, personally or through their orators, were present as representatives—heads of social groups—of districts of the king's dominions; and, setting aside the evidence of Mariner, Thomson and Radcliffe Brown, which seems to be inconsistent with that of West and Erskine, and the accuracy of which, as applying to old customs, I doubt, there is no reason for assuming that it was not the same in Tonga, the leading chiefs to whom West refers, and perhaps some of the "authorized orators," having been heads of districts, though I have no evidence to prove that it was so.

Then again, if Tongan *fono* were summoned merely for the purpose of receiving orders, how are we to interpret West's statement that one of the purposes of what was apparently a king's *fono* was to discuss projects entertained by the chiefs;

and to what does West refer in speaking of the long protracted meetings, with the rigid laws of etiquette by which every part of them was governed?

Mariner refers to the practice for petty chiefs to summon *fono*, and Erskine's statement apparently refers to *fono* generally. According to Brown, there were *fono* for the king's dominions, and evidently for smaller areas also. We may, I think, believe that, just as the kings had to summon *fono*, the great chiefs of districts, and the minor chiefs or *matabule* of sub-districts or villages would do so also, and that the proceedings at these *fono* would be similar to those of the king's *fono*, the ranks and positions of the persons qualified to speak varying in a general sliding scale with the size or importance of the area which it represented.

SOCIETY ISLANDS

The word *apoo* was, according to Davies's dictionary, the term applied in Tahiti to a council or meeting for consultation and to the act of consultative meeting. Our knowledge as to the proceedings at these meetings in the Society Islands is limited; but there are some general statements by writers with reference to the meetings and the circumstances under which they were summoned.

Ellis, speaking of Tahiti, says that the will of the king (by which he means Pomare) was supreme law[1], but that the government was not so much despotic as mixed in character—a union of monarchy and aristocracy. The king usually had one confidential chief near his person, this chief being his adviser in all affairs of importance, and in fact his prime minister; often there were two or three such advisers. These ministers were not responsible to any one else for the advice they gave. So great, however, was the influence of the *ra'atira*, that a measure of any importance, such as the declaration of war, or the fitting out of the fleet, was seldom undertaken without prior consultation with them. For this purpose friends of the king would go among them, and propose the matter in contemplation, or a public council would be convened for its consideration. These councils were usually held in the open air where

[1] This would only refer to his own part of the island; and even there it was the effort of Pomare II to act as an autocrat, he being backed by the missionaries, that got him into trouble, though I have not introduced the history of all this into the chapter on Political Areas and Systems.

the chiefs and others formed a circle, in which the orators of the different parties took their stations opposite each other. These orators were the principal, but not the only speakers; the king often addressed the assembly, and the *ra'atira* also delivered their sentiments with boldness and freedom. When a difference of opinion prevailed, and words ran high, the impetuosity of their passions broke through all restraint, and sometimes a council ended in scenes of confusion and bloodshed; or if it ended without open hostility, the chiefs returned to their respective districts, to assemble their tenantry, and prepare for war[1]. Then again, speaking of war, Ellis says that, while the customary ceremonies [sacrifices, consultations of oracles, etc.] were being performed, national councils were held. The question of peace or war was usually determined by a few leading people—the king, priests and principal chiefs—but sometimes the question depended upon the impressions produced by popular orators, whose speeches were specimens of the most impassioned national eloquence[2]. Bougainville says that in matters of consequence the lord of a district did not give his decision without the advice of a council[3]. J. R. Forster says that the district chiefs were both a support and a check to the king. They formed the great council of the nation, and assembled on important affairs, especially those of war and peace. Without their consent the king could not execute any great achievements, or undertake anything which might influence the public peace or safety, or punish any great chief[4]; and he refers elsewhere to the great influence which the chiefs of the provinces had in public affairs[5]. He further tells us that the word *tourooa* signified a meeting or assembly of the states (by which he probably meant districts) in Tahiti, at which the king, chiefs of provinces, priests, inferior chiefs and *manahune* had the right to sit; but the *hoa*, or king's attendants, though present, had to stand[6]. Moerenhout, speaking of war councils, says they were generally held in the open air; that the *ra'atira*, possessors of vast landed properties, took their places with their superiors, and that, knowing their aid to be necessary, they did not fear to give their opinions; that the reasons for and against were discussed clearly, passionately, and eloquently; and that the opinion of the majority of inferior chiefs sometimes

[1] Ellis, vol. III, pp. 117 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 278.
[3] Bougainville, p. 254.
[4] Forster, *Obs.* p. 362.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 356.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 553 *note.*

forced the *ari'i* (by which he means the head chief or king) to renounce his plans[1]. Cuzent says that when, at a solemn kava, it was proposed to induce the people to declare war, make peace, or sacrifice a prisoner, the priests and chiefs alone penetrated the sacred enclosure where kava was prepared; the drinking of this produced in them a feverish exaltation, and they then, as if possessed by prophetic delirium, suddenly appeared in the midst of the people assembled outside the *marae*, whom they soon kindled by the vehemence of their discourse[2]. De Bovis says of the *ra'atira*, in comparing them with the *ari'i*, that it was very necessary for the latter to count on them as something, as they represented, not only their number and their lands, but also their sub-tenants. Therefore they might with a certain amount of truth boast of being the first after the *ari'i*. They were also auxiliaries of the different *ari'i* in the various quarrels, so the support of these *ra'atira* had a certain value, and it became almost necessary to count with them, *i.e.* to consult them sometimes in assemblies, and often grant them the word—one of the most charming pastimes for these people [meaning, I take it, that they were allowed to discuss][3]. The London missionaries refer to an *apoo* or meeting held by the chiefs and *ra'atira* to settle and arrange certain matters affecting the king Pomare[4]. I have referred in a previous chapter to the events connected with the carrying off by Pomare from the *marae* at Attahuru of the image of Oro; but I draw attention here to the following paragraph referring to the prior meeting between the Pomare party and the Attahuru people: "After this a council was called, and Pomare, with the king [the former was Pomare I and the latter the nominally reigning Pomare II] and all the principal *ra'atira* met in the *marae*. The people of Attahuru sat on one side of the ring, and the king and Pomare on the other, and the orators on both sides spoke in turns"[5].

I pause here for a moment to consider very shortly the general effect of the evidence up to this point. It is clear that the *apoo*, or council meetings of Tahiti, were not held merely for the purpose of issuing orders to the people summoned to attend them. They had to be consulted and persuaded, and seem to have had considerable freedom of speech, and those

[1] Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 32 *sq.*
[2] Cuzent, pp. 93 *sq.*
[3] De Bovis, p. 243; cf. p. 247.
[4] L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. III, p. 189.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 64.

with whom this was necessary included the *ra'atira* or middle classes. Moreover, the need for this consultation and persuasion was not merely local and confined to minor matters only affecting their own particular districts. According to Ellis, it was generally necessary even for king Pomare to introduce them into the discussion of any measure of importance; J. R. Forster perhaps includes even the *manahune* among the people who took part in an *apoo* of what was evidently the several districts of Pomare's kingdom, though I can hardly think they would speak; Moerenhout speaks of the part the *ra'atira* took at war councils; in the *apoo* to which the London missionaries refer, and in which the *ra'atira* took part, they were discussing matters relating to the king; and, though the meeting at Attahuru was not a council meeting in the ordinary sense, it must be noticed that Pomare had a number of the principal *ra'atira* to help him in the negotiations. We must, I think, conclude that these middle class landowners had considerable influence in matters, great and small, and were able to give effect to that influence at the *apoo*.

I will now refer to further evidence, relating to what I may call the constitutional character of an *apoo*. As to this I refer again to J. R. Forster's mention of a council, what he calls a *tourooa*, of the "states," which apparently points, not merely to a meeting at which all sorts of people of the entire kingdom were present, but to one in which the separate districts were present as such, being represented, presumably, by persons who acted as their accredited delegates. Forster's information as to this would probably be obtained from the north part of Tahiti under the rule or influence of the Pomare family. Miss T. Henry also refers to the way in which the people of the districts presented themselves before Pomare on "state occasions," which would, I imagine, include a general *apoo* of all of them. She is not apparently in this considering an *apoo*, but the interest of her statement is that she treats it as a matter of districts, and says that the Purionuu [Pomare's own district] being the first in precedence, took the central position, and then speaks of the other six districts of Aharoa, extending along the coast line from Purionuu to the isthmus[1]. We have information as to the Teva districts on the south coast, for Ari'i Taimai tells us that the head chief of the district of

[1] *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 8. My map only shows five such districts; but there is some confusion as to the subdivision of Aharoa.

Papara, who was then the official head of all the Teva, could summon all the eight Teva districts to either conference or war, and they would all respond to the summons[1]. Tati Salmon is apparently speaking of *apoo* attended only by chiefs or *ari'i* when he says that questions regarding themselves both socially and politically were decided by a court whose judges were composed of the heads of the families having an ancestor from the Vaiari temple, whose judgment was final. The meetings of this court were held in a famous house called Fare ura Poumariorio, which stood near the temple of Farepua[2]. Two interesting facts are disclosed by this statement. The first is that the persons who took part in the meetings were heads of families, from which we may well believe that headship of a family or social group was the qualification for taking part in the larger *apoo* of which I have already spoken. As regards the other, we have seen that, though the head chief of Papara was politically the head of all the Teva districts, the Vaiari chief was socially his superior, his family being regarded as the original trunk family of all the Teva groups, and that the Vaiari *marae* Farepua was recognized as the old historical *marae* of the Teva. It was probably on this ground that, though a big meeting dealing with public matters was held in Papara, a meeting affecting the chiefs only was held in Vaiari.

It is evident from Ellis's statement as to the decisions connected with war that there were what I may call private chiefs' councils; probably they were not confined to matters of war. According to Davies's dictionary they were called *aparu*. If we may take what Salmon tells us as to discussions of chiefs in Vaiari as a sample of a usual practice, we must believe that these discussions commonly took place in a building, which, indeed, is likely enough; and Cuzent's statement offers an example of the holding of such a meeting prior to, and in anticipation of, a big open-air *apoo*.

We have seen that, according to Ellis, the decision to hold an *apoo* in the northern area would be made by Pomare and his advisers, and that a calling of all the Teva would be decided upon by the head chief of Papara, doubtless in consultation with his advisers; I think this would be a general custom for large and small areas, the ruling head of the area and his friends deciding to call the meeting.

[1] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 8, 10.
[2] T. Salmon, *J.P.S.* vol. XIX, pp. 45 *sq.*

As regards the summoning of the people, Ellis says that when a measure affecting all the inhabitants was adopted, the king's messenger was sent with a bundle of *niau* or leaflets. On entering a district he went to the habitation of the principal chiefs, and, presenting a coconut leaf, delivered the orders of the king. The acceptance of the leaf was a declaration of compliance with the requisition, and declining it was an intimation of hostility to the measure proposed. Hence the messenger, when he had travelled round the island, reported to the king who had received the leaflets and who had refused them. Chiefs who approved sent their own messengers to their respective tenants and dependants, with a coconut leaf for each and the orders of the king. This coconut leaf was the emblem of authority, and requisitions for property or labour, preparations for war or the convocation of a national assembly were made by sending the coconut leaf to those whose service or attendance was required; and the return or refusal to accept it was an insult to the king and a sign of resistance to his authority[1]. It will be noticed that this statement applies to the case of a summons to a council meeting, as well as to other matters.

Ari'i Taimai gives an account of the methods adopted for summoning a *fono* of the Teva people of Tahiti. These Teva, it will be remembered, were divided into eight groups, occupying eight separate districts, of which four (the Inner Teva) were on the south coast of the larger peninsula and four (the Outer Teva) were in the smaller peninsula (Taiarapu); each district had its own head chief, and at the period now under consideration the head chief of Papara (one of the districts of the Inner Teva) was the head or king of all the Teva. It was the head chief of Papara who could summon the Teva to either conference or war, and all the eight districts would respond to his summons[2]. The messengers were the *iatoai* [see "Middle and Lower Classes"] of Papara. Ari'i Taimai does not know how many of these there were at the period in question, but in her time there were in Papara fourteen, of whom eight belonged to one sub-district and six to another. These messengers were divided into three groups, one for the home district (Papara), one for the other three districts of the Inner Teva, and one for the four districts of the Outer Teva. The messengers who summoned the three other districts of the Inner Teva delivered the summons to the

[1] Ellis, vol. III, p. 122. [2] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 8, 10.

head chief of the district of Vaiari, whose predecessors had, as will be remembered, once been at the head of the Teva and whose family was older than, and socially superior to, that of Papara; and the head chief of Vaiari transmitted the summons to the other two districts. The messengers to the Outer Teva went to the head chief of one of their four districts, who transmitted it to the other three[1]. There was probably some social significance in the selection of the districts who were to receive the direct summons from Papara and then pass it on to the others; indeed the messenger to Vaiari would in his journey there have to pass through the other two inner Teva districts, if he travelled by land. Possibly somewhat similar systems prevailed in other parts of Tahiti.

We know practically nothing of the actual proceedings at an *apoo* beyond what has already appeared. It may, I think, be assumed that the head chief of the group represented at the meeting would be its visible chairman, and we have Ellis's statement that Pomare often addressed the assembly, but apparently chiefs, or at all events great head chiefs or kings often spoke through their official orators. We have seen that at the Attahuru meeting the Pomares seem to have spoken through their orators—who, I may notice, are spoken of as *ra'atira*; this was not an ordinary council meeting, but it probably illustrates a practice. The London missionaries, in describing the ratification of peace in the quarrel between Pomare [Pomare I] and Tu [Pomare II], say that their speakers were seated on the ground opposite to each other, and there harangued on the subject of the meeting; and they explain that all public business was transacted between persons called *taata-oraro* or orators[2]—a body of persons whom I have already discussed. Queen Pomare (of a later date) had, as her advisers and speakers, her foster father and another man (who, I may say, was in fact a near relation and a chief), and one of them spoke for her, addressing both Fitzroy and the general body of the people[3]. The Spanish padres, in 1775, were visited by a head Tahitian chief, who was accompanied by his old underchief and spokesman[4]. So also the king of Ra'iatea had a person who acted as his speaker[5]. It would seem that some of the chiefs also acted as official orators. Queen Pomare's two

[1] Ari'i Taimai, pp. 8 *sq.* Cf. Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 169, 171.
[2] L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. I, p. 116.
[3] Fitzroy, vol. II, pp. 529 *sq.* Cf. *Rovings*, vol. I, p. 225.
[4] Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 340. [5] Tyerman, vol. I, pp. 136 *sq.*

spokesmen were chiefs of high rank; and Wheeler says of a man Tati (the grandfather, I may say, of Ari'i Taimai) and his brother that they were two of the principal chiefs[1], and that Tati was considered to be the greatest orator in the island[2]. As regards what I may call the general body of orators, other than the higher chiefs, if we consider what we have been told as to the *iatoai*, and notice some of the duties which they had to perform, including in particular that of giving counsel as to important events, and remember that they seem to have been an intermediate body between the upper chiefs and the *ra'atira*, we may well believe that their body would provide some of the speakers. Presumably the rest would be *ra'atira*. The Tahitians perhaps had a practice of offering at their consultative meetings complimentary speeches comparable with those of Samoa. Ari'i Taimai says that every great name had a sort of legend or title attached to it, to make known in formal oratory or poetry the eminence of the chief[3]. And Gaussin tells us that royal names and feudal names were inseparable from the authority attached to them, different districts having different names. These names were reserved for solemn occasions. Often an orator, in a political conference, would enumerate the titles borne by the parties interested[4].

HERVEY ISLANDS

There is hardly any information about the council meetings of the Hervey Islands. Gill says that in Mangaia a meeting was summoned by the king [that is, the sacred king] as high priest of Rongo and all tribal chiefs were bound to attend, with a few followers, on behalf of their respective clans[5]. He tells us that the elders and wise men of a tribe constituted the tribal council, and that it was the duty of the presiding chief to ask the opinion of the elders on any point[6]. The "paramount chief or king" had to endorse the advice of the council of elders for it to become law[7]. The sacred king used a conch shell to summon chiefs and leading men to council whenever he thought fit[8]. Gill also says that when the Tongan tribe obtained supremacy, the heads of the clan planted the *buka* tree on their various *marae*; and that under their shade the

[1] Wheeler, p. 53.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 74.
[3] Ari'i Taimai, p. 172.
[4] Gaussin, pp. 122 *sq.*
[5] Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, p. 334.
[6] Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 17.
[7] Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, p. 335.
[8] Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 201.

affairs of the island were discussed at leisure[1]. This information leaves us in the dark as to what classes of society, other than chiefs, were entitled to take part in a meeting called by the sacred king, or of a "tribe"; we do not know who were the "followers" who had to attend with the chiefs to the king's summons; the references to "elders and wise men" and to "chiefs and leading men" may perhaps suggest the inclusion of a middle class, below that of chiefs. Probably the council meeting summoned by the sacred king included representatives of the whole island, whilst that of the Tongan group presumably only included themselves.

There appears to be but little information about a Rarotongan council meeting beyond what we are told by Savage, and by Smith in his description of the seating at the great *marae* there, to which I have referred in discussing the question of the *marae* as a social centre. It will be remembered that the *ariki* had, sitting on his right, two persons, of whom one was a man who acted as his spokesman. According to Moss, public laws scarcely existed, and the few relating to land and its incidents were well understood. Councils of greater or less importance and scope were convened, in accordance with the subject to be discussed. No one presided at the meeting, and the opposition of any powerful chief would prevent a decision, which could only be, with such opposition, impracticable or lead to trouble[2]. Savage says that only heads of families could sit on the stones in an *ariki's koutu*, which he defines as a court of royalty, within which one or more *marae* were often built, and where all the chiefs or priests met to discuss any tribal event, the head *ariki* taking the principal seat[3].

MARQUESAS

We know very little about the council meetings of the Marquesas. Mathias refers to the possession by each district of Nukuhiva of a chief who was independent enough in his own domain, and was not obliged to have any relations with the chiefs of the other districts, except as regarded national feasts or in cases of war. In the great assemblies of all these district chiefs, if there was one who was superior to the others through the extent or richness of his land, or the number of his vassals or farmers, or through his warlike qualities, or some

[1] Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 130.
[2] Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 21.
[3] Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 218.

religious dignity, then he became, so to speak, the hereditary prince, or might properly be called a king. The rest, during war, or in the assemblies, were only small vassal princes who lent him support[1]. Mathias also says that in war time, and in assemblies for the councils of the tribes, the power of the chief was more or less predominant, according to the titles he possessed[2]. Coulter describes a war council. It was held under the shade of a large breadfruit tree; the people taking part in it were the principal chiefs, the great body of the warriors remaining around at some distance away; each chief remained seated as he gave his opinion, which he did coolly and deliberately[3].

We have seen that the Teii people of Nukuhiva occupied the shores of Anna Maria Bay, and that westward of them, on Akani Bay, were the Taioa people; also that the Teii people were divided into a number of separate groups, occupying different districts within their area, and each having its own head chief, whilst Moana, the head chief of one of these groups, was also the king of all the Teii. Radiguet gives an account of hostilities between the Teii and the Taioa peoples, in which the French acted as mediators, and in doing this he refers to the calling together by Moana of all the Teii for the purpose evidently of taking part in the discussions and negotiations[4]. Jardin also, speaking of two of the other Marquesan islands, says that if the king of either of them wished to make war on a neighbouring island, he assembled the chiefs of the bays and valleys, explained to them his reasons for doing so, and made suitable arrangements with them; after which he sent into the country a messenger, *kee*, whose business it was to announce to the people the resolutions of the council, and each of the latter then armed himself and went to the place of rendezvous[5].

Melville says that "the independent electors" of the valley of the Taipii people "were not to be brow-beaten by priests, chiefs, idols or devils"[6]. He comments on the absence of any "legal provisions for the well being and conservation of society"; adding that nevertheless everything went on there with the greatest smoothness, the people seeming to be governed by a sort of tacit common sense law[7]. Jardin says the house of a chief was the meeting house (*case de réunion*), and was usually

[1] Mathias, p. 101.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.
[3] Coulter, p. 187.
[4] Radiguet, vol. XXII, p. 461.
[5] Jardin, pp. 182 *sq.*
[6] Melville, p. 197.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 222.

built on one side of a piece of land which he calls the public place[1]. Baessler, in discussing dwelling houses, says that the houses which served for the reception of guests at the feast places were on a much larger scale, and often had a length of thirty metres or more[2].

It is evident that the Marquesans had council meetings of some sort, and the references to the "great assemblies" (Mathias), the calling together of "all the Teii" (Radiguet), the assembling of the "chiefs of the bays and valleys" (Jardin) indicate that some, at all events, of these meetings were gatherings of a considerable number of people or their representatives. The question arises, who were the persons entitled to take part in the debates at these meetings? Mathias refers to the "district chiefs," and to the "small vassal princes" who supported the "king"; Coulter says the persons who took part in a war council were the "principal chiefs"; Jardin, speaking of a war council, refers to the "chiefs of the bays and valleys." We cannot interpret this evidence without knowing exactly what classes of society may have been included in the term "chiefs." Some of the "district chiefs" and "chiefs of the bays and valleys" and the "small vassal princes" may have been comparable with—say—the higher *tulafale* of Samoa or the higher *matabule* of Tonga; perhaps they were the equivalent of the *iatoai* of Tahiti. There is nothing in the evidence to show whether there were in these council meetings any representatives of the public opinion of the general body of the people. Melville's reference to the independent electors of the Taipii people, who were not to be brow-beaten by priests, chiefs, idols or devils, might have some bearing on the question, because people in this position would hardly be likely to submit to a system of control by consultative bodies on which they were not represented; but we cannot interpret his statement without knowing who were the independent electors. I imagine they would be the electors of the chiefs, great and small, and if so, there would probably be some relationship bond between the chiefs and the electors, and the electors of minor chiefs might well, like the minor chiefs themselves, belong to what we should, in Samoa, Tonga and Tahiti, call the middle classes.

I draw attention to Jardin's reference to the house of a chief, usually built on one side of the public place, and used as a meeting house, and to Baessler's reference to the large

[1] Jardin, p. 230. [2] Baessler, *N.S.B.* p. 205.

houses, used for the reception of guests, at the feast places. The description of the former is uncommonly like that of a Samoan *faletele*, and that of the latter would be applicable to the *faletele*.

PAUMOTU

I have found no information about council meetings in the Paumotuan Islands.

NIUE

In the island of Niue a council meeting was called a *fono*. Thomson says that nothing could be done there without a decree of a *fono*, attended by all the chiefs of villages and heads of families. The *fono* was half parliament, half law court. Nothing was too great or too small for its attention, which would even be given to such matters as an alleged encroachment by a man on a widow's yam patch, or rudeness of a village to a visitor. A village sometimes refused to obey the decree of a *fono*, in which case the next *fono* was held in the rebellious village; this meant a supply of food during the meeting, and the *fono* would then go on with its meetings until the refractory village submitted[1]. Thomson says elsewhere that formerly the only tribunal was the *pulangi tau* or council of war[2]. The institutions of the island seem, he tells us, always to have been republican. In ancient times the ruling power was held by the *toa* or fighting men, and the party that happened to be in the ascendant elected a king to be their mouthpiece. Since the missionaries had controlled the island, there had been three kings, elected by the chiefs of villages, who had themselves been elected by the people. They governed with the consent of the council of these chiefs, which met in the open air once a month and carried out their decrees by the force of public opinion[3].

Smith says that the *patu-iki* or head chief of Niue was in constant communication with all parts of the island through the intermediary of his *fono*, and that, though he had an *alavaka* or *alanga-vaka* as his representative in each village, not only these men, but most of the other chiefs also, attended the *fono*[4].

The *patu* or heads of the *fangai* [families] formed the local *fono* of each village, and did all the speechifying; and though the *patu* and *iki* were supreme, Smith thinks that all decisions were the result of a consensus of opinion in the *fono*[5].

[1] Thomson, *S.I.* pp. 111 *sq.* [2] *Ibid. J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, p. 143.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 138. [4] Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. xi, p. 175. [5] *Ibid.* p. 178.

I refer, as regards the apparent confusion in the use here of the term *patu*, to what I have said about it in considering the middle and lower classes. I interpret Smith's meaning here to be that, whilst there were certain *iki* or chiefs—also, as heads of families called *patu*—who had the official power, they had to exercise it in accordance with the views expressed at a *fono*. I have already drawn attention to the series of stone seats in the principal village of Niue where the chiefs sat in *fono* with the king. It is possible that they were used for special central *fono* of representative chiefs of the island, as distinguished from village *fono*.

Turner says that in 1845 there was no king of Niue (though in olden days they had had kings) and a council of heads of families formed the government for the time being in war and other matters[1].

Goodenough describes a *fono*, held in 1873, to discuss whether the people of Niue should have a king, and which he witnessed. He says that several members from each village were present, sitting under a grove of coconut trees. They occupied a circle of at least thirty-five yards diameter, but were not sitting in a circle; the men from one village were squatting on the ground in a group together, whilst those from another were similarly placed in another group[2].

It seems clear that the evidence points to a relatively recent change in the political system of Niue, to which I have referred in the discussion of political areas and systems. I think, however, that this change, which was perhaps gradual and intermittent, related, mainly at all events, to the kingship of the whole island, which was apparently discontinued. Probably a change of this sort would influence the systems of government by the *fono*, but I do not see any reason for believing that the constitutional basis of the formation of a *fono*, or at least of a village *fono*, had changed; the representation by heads of families was probably an old institution. Goodenough's description of the seating of the people corresponds with my conception of a Samoan *fono*.

ROTUMA

I have already referred to the governmental system of Rotuma, where each district was ruled by its *ngangaja* or chief, but its affairs were conducted by a council consisting of the

[1] Turner, pp. 304 *sq.*

[2] Goodenough, pp. 188 *sq.*

chief and the *pure* or heads of the families within it, whilst the government of the whole island was in the hands of a council of the chiefs of the several districts, the president of which, called the *fakpure*, was the chief of one or other of two districts. According to Gardiner, the council of *pure* might reverse any action of the *ngangaja*, but conflicts between them and him were rare, so long as his decisions were in accordance with, and he did not infringe, Rotuman customs[1]. Dillon says that the meetings of the chiefs of districts took place every six months, when they elected a president and deliberated on state affairs, hearing and settling grievances without recourse to arms. Sometimes they would, at a six-monthly meeting, allow the retiring president to continue in his office for a time, but if he persisted in remaining too long, the other chiefs leagued together and compelled him, by force of arms, to retire[2]. According to Goodenough, who says that the councils of chiefs were called *fou* and by another name, the chiefs who assembled there spoke beforehand to their own people and ascertained their wants[3], by which I suppose we must gather that each chief would probably have a previous council meeting of his own district. Lesson learnt from an English sailor that each morning the *sou* [sacred king] held council with a dozen chiefs and arranged affairs[4]. Gardiner refers to a *fakpure* who spoke through his brother, who was his spokesman, or *hoasong*; and we are told that every chief had his orator or speaker[5], though this statement is made with reference to kava parties.

FOTUNA

Mangeret says that the ruling chief or king of the island of Fotuna was not an absolute master. He had to consult his council, formed of the other chiefs of the tribe, and consider the dominant opinion of the council[6]. Bourdin refers to the "great council," whose members on the death of a king, chose his successor[7]. This is the only information on the subject I have found.

[1] Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 430.
[2] Dillon, vol. ii, p. 95.
[3] Goodenough, p. 315.
[4] Lesson, *Voy.* vol. ii, p. 432.
[5] *Rovings*, vol. i, p. 165.
[6] Mangeret, vol. i, p. 248. Cf. *A.P.F.* vol. xxxii, p. 98.
[7] Bourdin, p. 453.

UVEA

Graeffe says that in Uvea the king could not decide anything without consulting the assembly of the people. Each head of a family ruled his family, and delivered his opinion at the public consultations, and this had great or little weight, according to the number of his kindred and his personal qualities[1]; so here again we find that the representatives who took part in these assemblies were the heads of families.

TOKELAU

Here again in Fakaofo the heads of families formed the government, and the king himself was the head of his own family. The people had a house of parliament where they met from time to time to make laws as circumstances might require, and did not meet in the open as in Samoa[2].

ELLICE ISLANDS

We have seen Whitmee's statement as to the differing character of the forms of government in the several islands of the Ellice group, in one of which there was a council of chiefs assisting the king. According to Turner, the government of Nanumanga consisted of a king and five who formed a council with him. For all important business thirteen "other heads of families" [from which we may assume that the council of five were such] united with them[3].

[1] Graeffe, *Ausland*, vol. XLI, p. 530.
[2] Bird, *Ausland*, vol. XXXVII, p. 418.
[3] Turner, p. 291.